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Election Edition!!

See page 3 Inside!!

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THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

Vol. 3, No. 7 November 1992

Recycled Paper

WORKS IN PROGRESS

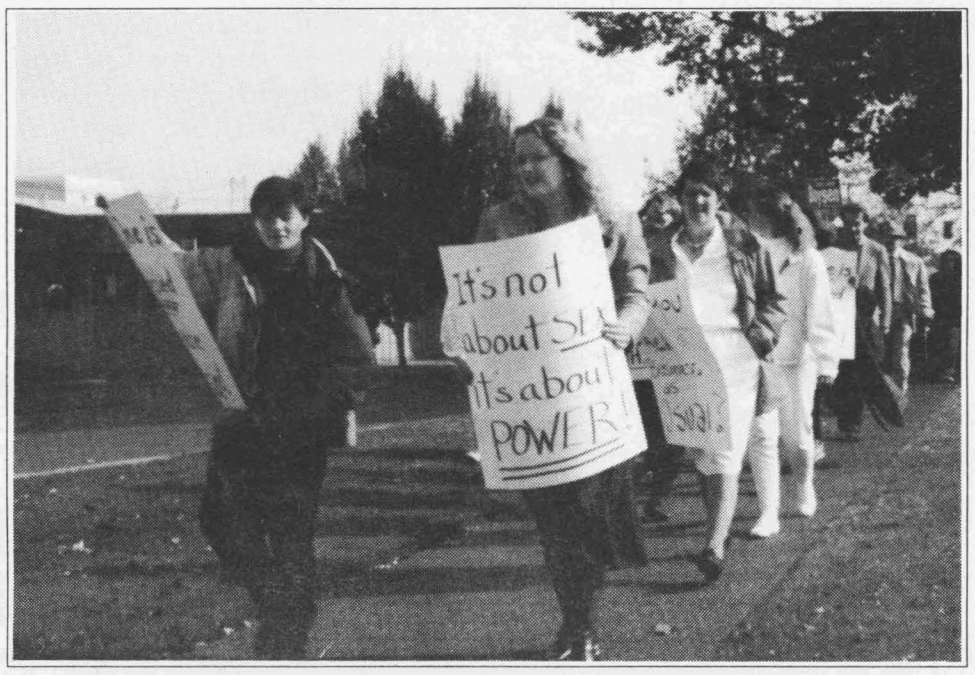
"As you enter positions of trust and power, dream a little before you think." Toni Morrison

Free

Speeches From Anita Hill March And Rally

WIP News Service

What follows is a selection of speeches from those given on the Capitol steps on Thursday, October 15, as part of the NOW sponsored Anita Hill March and Rally. Virginia Carhart's also includes more information concerning Bulldog News.



We Believe You, Anita

Teresa Jennings

I'd like to start by saying, "Thank you, Anita." Thank you for your courage; your integrity. More importantly, I want to say We Believe you. We know you were telling the truth. One of the most commonly heard criticisms of Anita Hill is her delay in coming forward—10 years in making her case known. Well, most of us know why it might take so long to report misconduct. It's because besides being an issue between men and women, sexual harassment is an issue between labor and management.

So I want to focus on these two aspects of sexual harassment. What is the position of women? And what is the position of men? Most of us, women, know what our position is: It's one of banging our heads against the wall and saying, "They still don't get it??" So, what's the position of men. They can either help women tear down the wall or they can turn a deaf ear and pretend there's nothing wrong. And go on not getting it!

What should be the position of management? Sorry, but it will take more than training and more than policy. It actually takes discipline and walking the talk. That means management will have to take on a new perspective. One that recognizes that management or managers are not always right. Top management must take greater responsibility for those whom they grant supervisory authority to. The resolution to cases of sexual harassment must have on-going review and evaluation before the process can be considered satisfactory. And women and workers must be part of the process; that is, if women and workers are going to come forward. We, you and I, are going to have to do the hard work of standing together and standing with them.

Thank you, Anita. Thank you for the wake up call.

Make the Change

Judith Brighton

A *U.S News* poll recently reported that in 1991, 60 percent of Americans polled were inclined to "believe" Clarence Thomas, while only 29 percent "believed" Anita Hill.

The most recent poll taken by *U.S. News* indicates quite a turnaround in public opinion. In 1992, only 38 percent of Americans polled by U.S. News "believe" Clarence Thomas declarations of innocence and 38 percent reported their inclination to believe Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment.

. . . besides being an issue between men and women, sexual harassment is an issue between labor and management.
- Jennings

Things have changed.

Things have changed for a reason. Victims of workplace sexual harassment are no longer silent. Women are talking to each other. Women are talking to their harassers. Women are talking to their employers. But most importantly - women are talking to their lawyers!

Now American is beginning to have a dollars and cents concept of the cost of sexual harassment in the workplace. Employers in both the public and private sector are realizing just how high the cost can be.

Workplace education for both

(Continued on back page.)

March To Stop Hate Crimes

WIP News Service

The Olympia City Council, along with other cities, community organizations, businesses and concerned individuals of Thurston County, are co-sponsoring a march and rally to promote unity and protest violence and hate.

"This will be a grand scale demonstration of our community's commitment to eradicating crimes of hate and bigotry," said Anna Schlecht. . .

"Unity in the Community/Stop Hate Crimes Now!" invites you to share this message with the greater Thurston County community. The group formed after the Aug. 10 killing of a 17 year old Asian-American youth here. His murder has been linked to two young men who are members of a racist Skinhead group.

At noon, on Saturday, November 7th, a march will begin in Sylvester Park, downtown Olympia, with a rally to follow at the State Capitol.

"This will be a grand scale demonstration of our community's commitment to eradicating crimes of hate and bigotry," said Anna Schlecht, one of dozens of co-sponsors of the event.

"Individuals whose racial characteristics (skin color, morphology, hair texture) vary from our society's idealized norm are targets of violence by the simple fact of their physical appearance. Racially motivated attacks occur every year in our state. Attacks include, among others, lynchings (hangings), beatings, cross-burnings and graffiti on homes or churches using symbols associated with genocide and subjugation," according to Geoff McGrath, Hate Crimes Project Coordinator of the state's Office of Crime Victims Advocacy.

Other targets of hate crimes include persons of different ethnicity, religion, ability, political ideology, gender, sexuality, or age.

To get involved in the "Unity In the Community/Stop Hate Crimes Now!" effort attend the march and rally at noon on the 7th of November. If you have resources in the form of funds, computer or copy services, or would like to be otherwise involved, please contact Tom Howdeshell, 352-3233, in the evening, or Geoff McGrath, days, 753-1178.

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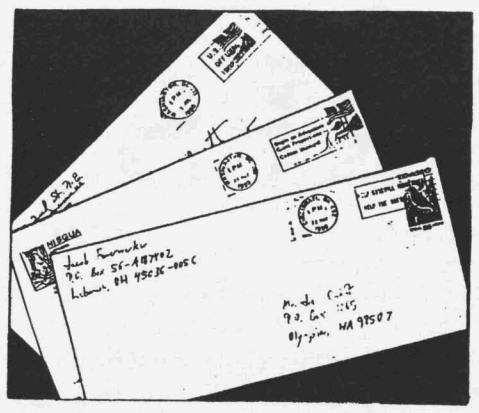

Get involved with the Institute for International and Multi-Ethnic Relations

"Knowledge leads to understanding and understanding can lead to peace."

Jens Stahmer, founder of the newly formed Institute for International & Multi-Ethnic Relations, believes that knowledge is the key to better relations between peoples of all cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

An immigrant himself, German-born Stahmer has been involved with multi-ethnic activities for years, in both Germany and the United States. He currently sits on the Thurston Council on Cultural Diversity and Human Rights and is active with a number of different organizations and groups in Thurston County including the Native American community.

Through a variety of programs, the nonprofit Institute's mission is to promote awareness and understanding of the diverse groups living in Thurston County, as well as other nations. A resource center has been established with information for both newcomers to this country as well as longtime residents who want information about other cultures, ethnic groups and nations. Other programs in the planning stages are classes, publications and community outreach programs

Stahmer's most immediate project however, is to raise funds to get his fledgling organization off the ground. A calendar featuring local citizen's from various ethnic groups and organizations is in the works and will be available for sale.

The Institute is located in the Security Building, in downtown Olympia. Stahmer says a phone is on his list of priorities, but in the meantime, visitors are welcome to stop by the office.

Volunteers are being sought to serve on the Institute's board of directors and committees. Anyone interested in getting involved with the Institute should contact:

Jens Stahmer,
Institute for International and
Multi-Ethnic Relations,
203 E. 4th. Suite 308,
Olympia, WA 98501

Rocker Rolls Over Workers

Dear Bruce Springsteen,

Now I know why they call you "the Boss." You don't give a damn about your employees. You have a product to sell, and you will sell it over your employees bankrupt bodies if you have to.

Such was the case on October 13, at the Tacoma Dome, when you gave the one finger salute to the hard working union women and men of Tacoma and crossed two picket lines because, in your words, you were there to "rock this town..., and if they get some free publicity off of me, that would be great."

Gee... thanks Bruce! You allow your promoter to lock out the stage crew union and bring in out-of-state scab crews to set up your stage, you sneak in a back door to avoid facing hundreds of picketing Tacoma city workers, and then you pat yourself on the back for getting them "free publicity." You are perfectly willing to reschedule your two San Francisco dates from October 8 and 9 to October 14 and 15 because of a sore throat which you clearly still had at the Tacoma show, but you cannot find it in yourself to postpone your show in Tacoma in support of the very people, the working class people of America, who made you the superstar you are today. You do not even, at the barest minimum, offer to refund money to loyal fans of yours who were not willing to cross a picket just to see you.

Shame on you, Bruce!

What ever happened to the upstart rocker from Asbury Park, New Jersey who did benefit concerts for labor unions and sung heart-wrenching songs about the toils of working men and women in the rusting cities of our nation? Mr. "Born to Run" apparently only runs to his Beverly Hills stock broker now. Its no wonder he cannot sell out the Tacoma Dome for only one appearance just four years after he sold out the Dome for two appearances. The simple fact is, Bruce Springsteen has sold out!

It was a sad day on October 13, Bruce. I watched one of my heroes die. You. And all I could think of to do was to sneak in picket signs for the union and display them until the henchmen of your promoter came to through me out of the Dome. It was the least *I* could do to support the struggling working people of Tacoma, since you and your buddies wouldn't give me back my money.

Bruce, I imagine if you ever do come back to play the Northwest, you'll be lucky to sell out the back seat of your pink Cadillac.

Sincerely,
Zachary D. Lyons, an ex-fan

Tax Art Show "Green Economics"

"Green Economics" is the theme of a Tax Art Show by Meta Heller, Rainbow Coalition board member, at the Four Seasons Book Store, Water and Fifth, on Friday November 13 from 5 to 10 P.M. (in conjunction with the Olympia Arts Commission's next "Art Walk").

Meta' s innovative collages, each depicting a tax, will be displayed on easles borrowed from the Washington State Capital Museum. Books on economics for sustainability, one table for adults and another for children, will be displayed by store owners Dean and Carla Jones. Senator Al Gore's bestseller, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, will be featured.

At 7: 30 P.M., Meta will give a brief lecture on "Taxes for Sustainability" using her art to explain the taxes. "To save the planet and to sustain a market economy with a better life for all Earth's inhabitants," she says, "all countries must begin to tax the rich heavily and redistribute wealth. " Learn how.

In the past four years Meta has had Tax Art Shows at TESC, Olympia's Community Center, several regional libraries, and a two-week show in the reception room of the John L . O' Brien Building during our state's Centennial . Her two latest pieces, never exhibited before, are "The Two-Rate Property Tax" and "Eco-Warrior." She'll be wearing one piece of art, "Sustainability," a medley of wildflowers needle-punched on a tabard .

Olympia's "Art Walks" attract thousands of viewers to the businesses throughout downtown who are sponsors to the artists.

The Olympia A.I.D.S. Task Force announces its fall training session

Beginning Tuesday November 3, 1992 and held every Tuesday evening in November from 6 P.M. to 9 P.M. at the Metropolitan Community Church 207 North Washington.

Trainings will cover topics such as basic HIV/AIDS information, clinical symptoms in women and children, counseling and antibody testing information, legal issues, grief and loss / psychosocial issues, values clarification, working with youth, community resources and practical skills for caregivers.

The Olympia A.I.D.S. Task Force (OATF) is looking for caring and compassionate people to become a part of our volunteer teams. If you have time to give to the Thurston County community and can provide transportation, emotional or practical support to people living with HIV/AIDS, give information and referrals over the phone, help with office support, educational presentations, or work on committees with the board of directors, please call us!

As the HIV/AIDS epidemic keeps growing we need you to continue providing an invaluable resource to our community.

Contact Nanci at the OATF office, 203 East Fourth #304, or call 352-2375.

Everyone is welcome to attend training sessions!

Works In Progress

Mission Statement: This organization is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding among diverse cultural groups and providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture. We encourage the presentation of material by those most affected by exclusionary and unfair practices. Our aim is to explore the meanings of injustice and democratic participation in our society and in relation to the emerging global transition.

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the **Editorial Policy** and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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Kirsten Holm
Jerome Johnson
Zachary D. Lyons
Marvin Saillard
Dorothy Tassoni
Carol Poole
Greg Hohnholt

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. If possible submit articles on disk (WordPerfect). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions; so for editing purposes please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Endorsements '92

WIP News Service

The endorsements of three groups, the Washington Freedom Coalition (WFC), Labor, and Pro-Choice are presented in this article. The WFC is acivil rights organization which carried out an endorsement process described elsewhere in this edition. Regrettably, no endorsements from an environmental group were found. Blanks indicate that the candidates' positions were not reviewed for endorsement.

Labor endorsements are those of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Washington Federation of State Employees (WFSE), and WFSE Local 443. Within these labor groups various endorsement processes are carried out. AFSCME and WFSE hold endorsement conventions to which Locals send representatives. Local 443 endorsements require a vote from the membership.

The Pro-Choice endorsements were carried out by Planned Parenthood Voter Information Fund of Seattle-King County. National candidates received a four-star endorsement based on their response to four issues: 1) Supports repeal of the Gag Rule; 2) Supports the Freedom of Choice Act; 3) Supports Title X funding; and 4) Opposes national forced minor consent/notice laws. State candidates were given a four-star endorsement on a different set of four issues: 1) Supports new Washington State abortion law; 2) Opposes further abortion restrictions; 3) Opposes forced minor consent/notice laws; and 4) Supports family planning. Only four-star candidates are listed here. Dave Chappell responded with the anti-choice position in three of the four areas. Tom Nogler did not answer the questionnaire. It should be noted that both of these candidates face opponents known for their anti-choice positions.

Position	Candidate	WFC	Labor	Pro-choice
National				
President/V.P.	Clinton/Gore	✓	✓	✓
U.S. Senate	Patty Murray	✓	✓	✓
3rd Cong. Dist.	Jolene Unsoeld	✓	✓	✓
9th Cong. Dist.	Mike Kriedler	✓	✓	✓
State				
Governor	Mike Lowry	✓	✓	✓
	Ken Eikenberry			✓
Lt. Governor	Richard Kelley	✓	✓	✓
	Joel Pritchard			✓
Sec. of State	Ralph Munro	✓		
Attorney General	Christine Gregoire	✓	✓	✓
	Norm Maleng			✓
Comm. Public Lands	Jennifer Belcher	✓	✓	✓
Supt. Public Inst.	Terry Bergeson	✓		✓
	Judith Billings			✓
Insurance Comm.	Deborah Senn	✓	✓	✓
	Richard Marquardt			✓
Treasurer	Dan Grimm		✓	
Auditor	Brian Sonntag		✓	
Supreme Court Judge	Robert Utter		✓	
Supreme Court Judge	James Dolliver		✓	
Supreme Court Judge	Barbara Houghton		✓	
State Legislature				
Dist. 22 Senate	Karen Fraser	✓	✓	✓
	Gene Forrester			✓
House Pos. 1	Sandra Romero	✓	✓	✓
	Fiona Buzzard			✓
House Pos. 2	Cathy Wolfe	✓	✓	✓
	Lou Anne Houck			✓
Dist. 35				
House Pos. 1	Timothy Sheldon	✓	✓	✓
House Pos. 2	Barbara Holm	✓	✓	✓
Dist 20 Senate	Tim Nogler		✓	No Answer
House Pos. 1	Dave Chappell		✓	Anti-Choice
County				
Comm. Dist 1	George Barner		✓	
	Judy Wilson	✓		
Comm. Dist 2	Gary Alexander	✓		
Comm. Dist 3	Carol-Anne Boysen	✓	✓	

W FC Endorses Candidates

Curt Pavola and Richard Kirton

The Washington Freedom Coalition (WFC), a statewide political action group dedicated to defending the civil liberties of Washington's affectional minorities, has endorsed candidates for statewide and local offices for the general election.

An endorsement committee, composed of six lesbians and eight gay men from the Thurston County area, including eight WFC members, received input from a number of sources before making the endorsements.

The committee reviewed candidate questionnaires, the SEAMEC ratings from Seattle, the Choice rating from Planned Parenthood, labor endorsements, voting records of incumbents, and campaign literature, as well as press and public statements made by each candidate. We evaluated experience, qualifications, and the candidate's stated positions on issues of importance to the affectional minority community in order to select the candidates that will best lead us into the next century.

Endorsement committee members were pleased with the sincerity and commitment to public service exhibited by all of the candidates. However, some candidates will better represent Thurston County's gay, lesbian, and bisexual citizens, and they deserve the support of all voters concerned with equality in civil rights for all people.

Karen Fraser for state Senate, District 22 (Democrat). Karen exhibits a well rounded understanding of affectional minorities. She has been an advocate for our community as a county commissioner and member of the House of Representatives, and she'll continue to do so as state senator.

Sandra Romero for state House of Representatives, District 22, Position 1 (Democrat). Sandra has demonstrated her support of equal rights for affectional minorities during the past 16 years as she marched in solidarity with gays and lesbians. She will be proactive against attempts to limit civil liberties and will advocate for malicious harassment legislation.

Cathy Wolfe for state House of Representatives, District 22, Position 2 (Democrat). Cathy will be an advocate in the Legislature. She will actively support inclusion of the term "sexual/affectional orientation" in our state's malicious harassment law, as well as the state antidiscrimination statutes.

Judy Wilson for County Commission, District 1 (Republican). Judy stands in stark contrast to the rhetoric of the Washington State Republican Party on lesbian, gay, and bisexual issues. A divided endorsement committee acknowledged the supportive record of her opponent, George Barner, yet was dissatisfied with his apparent lack of interest in our issues and in getting to know our community. Judy's progressive thinking matches her interest in learning more about the issues of concern to affectional minorities.

Gary Alexander for County Commission, District 2 (Republican). Gary, a progressive, free-thinking Republican, has a good understanding of the affectional minority community. This, combined with his strong pro-choice stance and a commitment to addressing inequalities in civil rights, convinced the endorsement committee to give Gary the nod over incumbent Diane Oberquell.

Carol-Anne Boysen for County Commission, District 3 (Democrat). As a Native American, Carol-Anne will bring to the County Commission an understanding of disenfranchised peoples. Combining this personal background with experience in city, county, and state government, she also will be an effective policy maker. Carol-Anne currently chairs the Thurston Council on Cultural Diversity and Human Rights, indicating her strong support of civil rights for all people.

Please keep these endorsements in mind when you vote on November 3.

Along The Color Line

Rich Schools vs Poor Schools

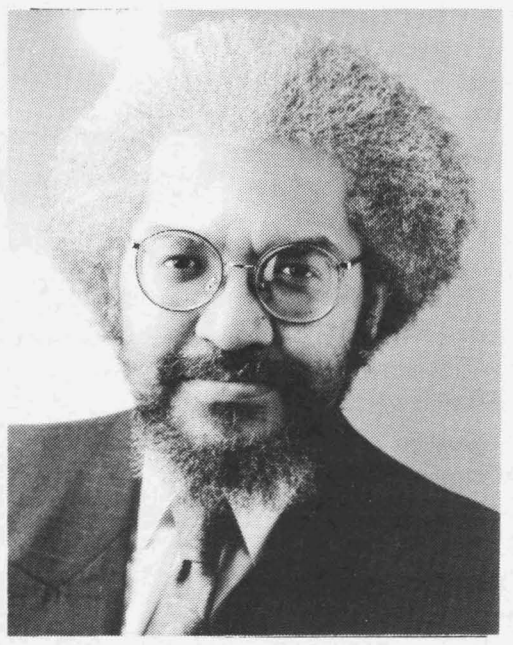
Manning Marable

Four years ago, George Bush promised the American people that he would become "the education president." Bush's Education Secretary Lamar Alexander likes to boast that the U.S. spends a "significant" amount of its national wealth on public schools. Yet in reality, for twelve years the Reagan-Bush administrations have waged warfare against the promise of educational equality. The chief casualties in this assault against public schools are minorities and the poor.

First, let's separate Bush's educational polemics from actual programs. According to a recent report of the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, U.S. spending for education lags behind the majority of western industrial nations. Out of twenty industrial countries, the U.S. ranks only thirteenth in its per-capita public spending for education. Smaller countries like the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark invest far more in their schools than we do. Children in Japan attend school nearly sixty more days each year than their American counterparts, and score much higher than American young people at all ages in math and science. Japanese schools have a dropout rate of only 10 percent, compared to 27 percent in the U.S.

The deepest chasm of educational inequality separates America's largest urban school systems from the more privileged, elitist schools in the suburbs. According to a recent study by the Council of Great City Schools, the forty seven largest urban school districts spend about $5,200 per pupil, which is nearly one thousand dollars less than suburban schools spend per student. But what's even more significant than the difference in funding levels, is how these monies are allocated and the racial and class profile of the students who are being served.

These forty seven large urban school systems are all located in cities with more than 250,000 people. These school systems have disproportionately large populations of color, and many students with special needs. These schools are responsible for only 13 percent of the nation's total school enrollment, but they have 32 percent of all Latino children and 37 percent of all African-American students. They also have 25 percent of all children living below the federal government's poverty line, and 32 percent of all students with limited English ability. Such schools must siphon greater funds for health services, instruction in the English language, and remedial educational programs than suburban schools. Less money is left over for teachers' salaries, textbooks, libraries, new equipment, and computers.



These forty seven large urban school systems are all located in cities with more than 250,000 people. . . They also have 25 percent of all children living below the federal government's poverty line, and 32 percent of all students with limited English ability.

By contrast, suburban schools not only have more money to spend, but they are able to allocate their resources more generously on the tools which make learning possible. They spend $506 per student more than large city schools on classroom instruction, and especially on books and reference works.

Why has the Bush administration done little to close the fiscal disparity between struggling urban schools with deteriorating tax bases, and the comfortable suburban schools, which draw their students from the middle and upper classes There's no question that race is a major reason for these differences. Less than one in four students who currently attend large urban school districts are white. The forty seven largest city schools only educate five percent of the country's white children. Perhaps this is the reason that Bush can ignore the fact that less than 40 percent of urban students who now enter junior year have passed basic algebra. If one's racial politics include Willie Horton and bashing affirmative action, it is not surprising that the Bush agenda is "color blind" to the educational difficulties of the inner city.

Education is one of the few bridges which exist that can help to lead people from poverty, homelessness and illiteracy to the promise of a better life. We need to broaden that bridge with massive federal initiatives, which can improve the quality of ghetto schools, giving millions of Black, Latino, and Asian-American youth a better chance for opportunity and equality.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of Political Science and History at the University of Colorado- Boulder. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 250 publications, and is broadcast by more than 60 radio stations internationally.

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

General Membership Meeting

Nov. 14

12:30 pm

Call 357-8463 for place

I AGREE WITH THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

A grassroots organization that works for the people the two political parties frequently ignore: peace activists, people of color, the differently-abled, union members, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, the homeless, the working poor, and other community people.

An organization that supports and encourages progressive electoral candidates. An organization that networks and works with others who have the same goals.

Join the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition and get involved.

Yes, I'm interested in joining the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition
- ❑ Enclosed is: $25; $10 low-income.
- ❑ Yes, I want to be involved in Rainbow activities. Give me a call.

(name) _____

(address) _____

(city) (state) (zip)

_____ _____ _____

(work phone) (home phone)

_____ _____

(issues of interest):

Send to: Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, P.O. Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507. For information call 459-3625 or 456-4773.

Cathy WOLFE

FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE
DEMOCRAT • DISTRICT 22

For State Representative
•Democrat
• Leg. Dist. 22, Pos 2

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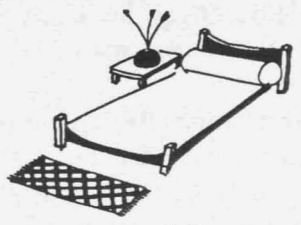
- FOR FAMILIES
- FOR WORKING PEOPLE"



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Vote, Don't Choke!

Carol Poole

Those of us whose formative years coincided with the Reagan-Bush regime have a problem: this year, voting for Clinton, we may find ourselves voting for a winning Presidential candidate. Such a reversal of expectations is bound to confuse and unsettle us. It may even cause some of us to drift toward less electable candidates, to preserve our sense of ourselves as people whose votes don't elect Presidents. A certain anti-Clinton backlash is inevitable the more likely he seems to win.

But we can't afford to be disgruntled yet. There's still a very real danger that Bush will be re-elected. If so, he'll be chugging right along on current plans to, for example, allow coal companies to strip mine in national parks and forests. Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness will keep [lugging for deregulation of US industry. The White House will continue to delay the 1990 Clean Air Act and other regulations to protect the environment and labor. (There's been a moratorium on new regulations since January.) And there is always Bush's latest threat to consider: that he'll do for the US what he's been doing for the rest of the world up until now.

In any case, he'll probably continue covert aggression toward other nations. More bombs over Baghdad?

Think about it. Vote with the majority, elect Clinton, and if you feel terrible in the morning at least you'll be in good company.

Vote with the majority, elect Clinton, and if you feel terrible in the morning at least you'll be in good company.

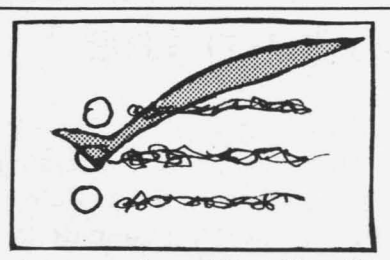
Other urgent election plugs:

Jennifer Belcher for Commissioner of Public Lands. Very important race. The Public Lands Commissionaer manages five million acres of state lands, and oversees, among other things, the sale of timber - how much to cut, when, and by whom. Belcher has had a good record on environmental issues for the past ten years as a state representative. Her opponent, Ann Anderson, is heavily supported and funded by all of the big timber corporations - bad news!

No on I-134 and I-573

Initiative 573 is another term-limits initiative, which would deprive us of the right to re-elect such able state representatives as Jennifer Belcher (1983-1992), openly gay Cal Anderson (1987-present) and Jesse Wineberry (1985-present).

I-134 is a sly one. I know, because I came close to collecting signatures for it, for pay. The man (he gave only a first name) told me, in response to my questions, that it was a grassroots, bipartisan effort to reform campaign spending. The money to hire folks like me at forty-five cents per signature, he said,



was from savings. **Not!** He didn't mention, but I later learned, that I-134 is opposed by the League of Women Voters as well as by labor organizations. The reason is that I-134 a) does have corporate backing, and b) is designed to favor Republicans by restricting traditional sources of Democrat funds (such as donations by labor unions) while putting no limits on overall campaign spending - only on size of donation.

Carol Poole is a Worker in Progress and the views she has expressed here are her own and are not meant to represent Works in Progress *or any of its other Workers.*

What We Need

Deeds, not words, are what we need,
This is how we can succeed,
Each of us must do his part,
With actions coming from his heart.

- © George Riffero
From "Along The Way"

A Fisherwoman and a Cigar

Creaking docks and screeching gulls set the scene, as props on a stage explain details unspoken. Comings and goings near the fuel dock. An Indian fisherwoman sells Steelhead from a dilapidated tender. Dropping heads into the drink. With her hands immersed in the brine she scrapes and rinses residue from the vein. A modern squaw floating among patches of rainbows, which drift with the tide towards the mouth of the marina. The man balances on the edge of the tender, catching the dock with his foot for security. Using all his savvy he removes the cheap cigar from the clench of his jaw to calculate the value of his fish for the restaurant manager. Unable to think in figures he refers to the squaw for advice. With a suitable answer the chef picks his favorite salmon from the styrofoam bin. The Indian uses his foot to push aside the plastic wrapped package containing the two remaining cigars, clearing the clutter to one side. Gruffly he says to the squaw, "Don't sell my trout, a guy's gonna get it." With the water collected in the ice bucket he washes the residue of the gulls from the dock. He flips the plastic mouth piece into the drink.

- Birch

"It's a recession when your neighbor loses his job; it's a depression when you lose yours."

- Harry S. Truman

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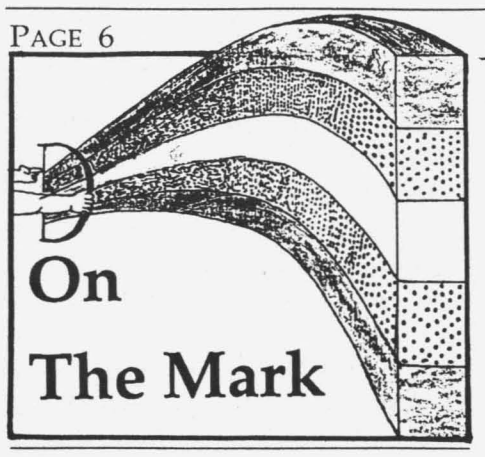


Again the Lesser of the Evils?

Dave Jette

I got a rude shock a couple of days ago. I came across a campaign sheet for the Democratic Party's candidate for U.S. Senate from Washington, Patty Murray. Titled "Patty Murray on the United States' Relationship with Israel", this position paper follows the standard Democratic Party line of unflinching support for Israel's longstanding oppression of the Palestinian people. Such support is even more intransigent than that given to Israel by the Bush administration, which at least has successfully pressured the Israelis to give up their goal of grabbing all of Palestine.

Murray's position paper advocates maintaining the U.S. commitment to Israel's security, independence, and health, which is fine so long as "security" isn't interpreted to mean denying to the Palestinians the same rights which Israel claims for itself. But in fact Murray nowhere in her paper mentions these rights, particularly the right of the Palestinian people to their own independent state (as was explicitly called for by the United Nations at the time that Israel was created, following World War II). Rather, she supports the ten-billion-dollar loan guarantee for housing of one million new immigrants to Israel, many of whom would settle in the occupied territories as a means to deny the Palestinians their own land.

But this column isn't really about U.S. support of Israel, and in fact there is some cause to be optimistic that the new government of Israel will finally start working toward respecting the rights of the people whom Israel has displaced. (And this new government came about because of Bush's holding up the housing loan guarantee, in spite of howls of rage from the Democrats.) Rather, this column is about supporting the election campaigns of people like Patty Murray and "Slick Willy" Clinton, who on major issues place themselves solidly on the side of oppression. Clinton, for example, is even more adamant than Bush in supporting the crushing of Cuba's alternative to the misery of U.S. control of Latin America, and he is also hostile to Palestinian rights, is silent about gross human-rights abuses in Somalia and Haiti, and claims that the U.S. didn't go far enough in its recent war on Iraq.

Why the Lesser of the Evils?

There are a number of distinct reasons that many progressives support the lesser of the evils in public elections. One is the underlying racism that is so difficult to avoid, living in a white supremacist society such as ours. Most conservatives consciously support white supremacy, and white liberals are easily swayed to sacrifice the rights of people of color when the established order becomes threatened. But what is so disconcerting is the readiness of some progressives, including socialists, to ignore the struggles of people of color in order to achieve victories in the "main" struggle (which, seemingly by chance, always is of greatest benefit to white people!). The U.S. has an outright colony, Puerto Rico, but where is the mass movement in support of the rights of these oppressed people of color? The Palestinians, who could have had their own state a long time ago were it not for full U.S. support for Israeli intransigence? - well, those people are far away, and besides we shouldn't unnecessarily upset our liberal Jewish allies. (This view, by the way, is inherently anti-Semitic, positing that Jews cannot be persuaded to support Palestinian rights because of blind support for Israel.)

"And even if the law is pro-choice, if poor people and people of color cannot afford an abortion, then we don't have a choice." Presidential candidate Ron Daniels

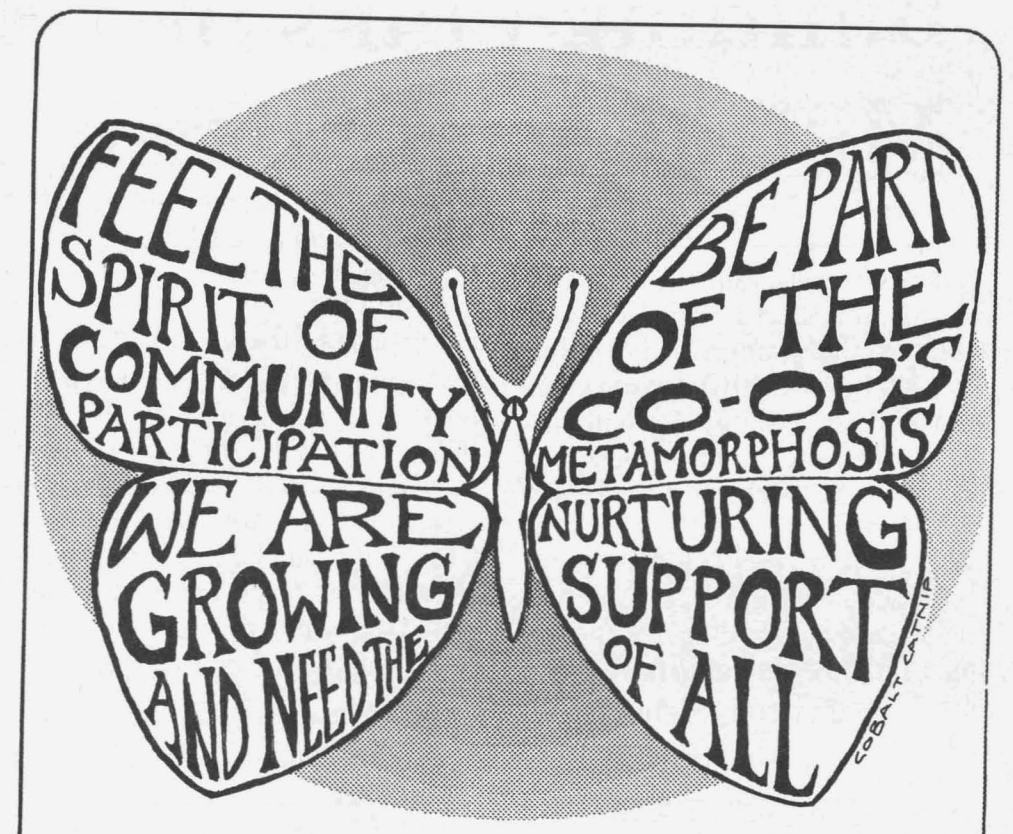
This underlying racism emerges in so many progressive domestic struggles, by not putting at the forefront the needs of people of color, whose systematic oppression constitutes the backbone of our society's stability. It sometimes seems as if we were following a "trickle-down" theory of social change, whereby once the welfare of white people is assured, that of people of color can be expected to follow in due course. Along these lines, let me quote two paragraphs from an article in the October 18th issue of *The Progressive*, by Matthew Rothschild, the publisher of that magazine. The article is entitled "Beyond the Lesser Evil: The case against Clinton", and this quotation concerns a conversation (or speech) at the recent People's Progressive Convention in Ypsilanti, Michigan, which featured progressive Presidential candidate Ron Daniels:

> Claire Cohen, who has organized for abortion rights, is sticking with Daniels. While the threat to abortion rights concerns her, she takes a broader view. "From the perspective of the black community, abortion rights are important," she says. "But the black community is in such devastation that the basic issue is survival. We don't have the luxury of making that our major issue. And even if the law is pro-choice, if poor people and people of color cannot afford an abortion, then we don't have a choice."
>
> She has no patience with those who use the abortion argument to twist arms for Clinton. "I'm sick and tired of this lesser evil crap", she says. "It gets us stuck every time. And every time, the lesser evil gets more right wing. Bush is talking about pulling us over the cliff at sixty miles per hour, and Clinton is talking about pulling us over the cliff at thirty miles per hour. I'm not interested in being pulled off a cliff. I want to go the other way."

There is another reason that progressives support the lesser of the Evils, and that is that they don't really regard the lesser as an Evil. This is the outlook of an article entitled "Clinton/Gore Crucial Opportunity to Reinvest in People and Civil Rights", by my colleague Tom Freeman in the last issue of this newspaper. That outlook, shared by other genuine progressives such as Jesse Jackson as well as by many members of the Democratic Socialists of America, regards the Democratic Party as being amenable to serving the interests of the large majority of people in our country, rather than as being one wing of the one-party system which governs us in the interests of the wealthy. Tom's article even suggests that we may be able to get a Secretary of Labor who is pro-labor! My own view, of course, is that the sad experience of uncountable wasted hours and energy has long demonstrated the erroneousness of this position.

Finally, there is a third distinct major reason for supporting the lesser Evil, and that is one of tactics. In this view, it is not suggested that electing Democrats will really lead the way to fundamental social

(Continued next page)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Paying for Private Use of Common Property

Marvin Saillard

When anybody is deprived of the value of their equal right to use land, they are being deprived of their equal right to life. Nobody can live without the use of land. The scientific definition of land as used in macro-economics is: Land is all of the material universe outside of man and his products.

Anybody who owns exclusive title to any of our common property, the land, has a special privilege which is a denial of the equal right of everybody else to the use of the land. The value of this special privilege can be accurately measured by the open market rental value of this location. Determination of the use-value of this land on the open market assures us that the payment of this land-rent will encourage the land-user to put the location/land to the best use suited for this location at this time.

Since everybody in the community has an equal right to use of the land, the community government should collect the rental-value of the land as public revenue to finance the government functions and government services required by all members of the community. Dividing the land up equally does not give everybody an equal right to land-use because people do not have equal abilities to use the land.

In order that their special privilege of exclusive use and ownership of our land should not create under-privilege for people who are denied use of that land, the landowner should be required to pay the rental-value of the location/land to the community government as public revenue. The easiest way to approach this goal of equal rights to land-use is to adopt the two rate property tax through a constitutional amendment.

Using a two rate property tax we can begin to progressively raise the tax rate on land values while gradually reducing the tax rate on buildings and improvements until they are untaxed. Their taxation increases construction costs, discourages construction, reduces the supply of buildings and improvements, raises their prices, and discourages the creation of new jobs in the community.

Higher tax rates on land values will bring down the price of land by making it unprofitable to make underdeveloped and inefficient use of land. Higher taxes on land will make it too expensive for land speculators to hold on to underdeveloped land while waiting for the artificial scarcity of good locations to drive up land prices and reward the speculators with a large unearned profit when they finally sell their land.

More efficient use of land creates more jobs in the community. Untaxing buildings and improvements encourages property owners to build and improve, and increases employment opportunities in the community. Property taxes for homeowners and small business will be reduced because their buildings and improvements usually make up about eighty percent of their property value. A lower tax rate on 80% of their property will make a big difference, and a higher tax rate on 20% of their property will make a small difference.

It is common knowledge that owners of valuable land, and dealers in valuable land, are among the wealthiest people in the world. What chance do we have of taxing their wealth significantly with a 1% maximum tax rate on land values in our single rate property tax? Under the single rate property tax system, as soon as we try to raise taxes on land values, the tax rate on buildings and improvements will go up too, and will bankrupt homeowners.

People are already revolting against high property taxes to the great joy of wealthy landowners. They have an unearned income and unearned profit from renting and selling valuable land. That unearned wealth should be transformed into public revenue by collecting the rental value of land as public revenue. We should tax unearned wealth and untax earned wealth. That will encourage a healthy economy through a healthy use of land.

People are already revolting against high property taxes to the great joy of wealthy landowners.

Marvin Saillard is a member of the Washington State Georgist Association.
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Our purpose is to seek elimination of under-privilege by taxing the unearned profit out of special privilege. Production is of great benefit to society and should not be taxed. Land-rent is a product of society and, ideally, should be the only source of public revenue. How can we hope to improve our economy and our society if we do not have an ideal goal?

(Lesser, continued)

change, but that at this time (as always!) it is vitally important to keep the greater Evil out of office. The Committees of Correspondence, for example, which has emerged from the recent split of the Communist Party - please see my column in last March's issue of *Works In Progress* - has just called for action to defeat Bush (by electing Clinton), citing (among other reasons) a long-term fascist threat if Bush remains in office. Carol Poole, in the last issue of this newspaper, gave "Six [actually Seven] Good Reasons to Vote for Bill Clinton", making clear how terrible Bush and the Republicans are on these important issues.

The Argument for Ron Daniels

I do think that this tactical argument for the lesser of the Evils is one which is worthy of respect, and that in particular circumstances it could be valid. However, I don't think that it is appropriate to invoke now. (And with Clinton elected now, what is going to happen in 1996, when again we have to support him against some neanderthal Republican?) Let me close with a rebuttal of this argument by Ron Daniels, from the article quoted above:

> "I respect the position that says let's defeat George Bush," Daniels explains. "We've been brutalized by Bush and Reagan, so I respect it. I simply do not accept it."
>
> The argument for Daniels is the argument against the lesser evil. It goes like this: First, we should stand up for what we believe in as a matter of principle, and what we believe in is fundamental change. Second, as a matter of tactics, we need to offer people clear choices; compromising our principles leads to the defeat of our principles. Third, for the people who are suffering the most in this country - the poor, people of color, working women - it does not matter whether a Democrat or a Republican wins the White House; their poverty, their disempowerment, will not change. Fourth, the time is never perfect to vote for a third-party candidate but you've got to start sometime. And fifth, the Clinton-Gore ticket is especially unworthy.
>
> Daniels makes all these arguments himself. "Will we be pragmatic or principled?", he asks. "If it is the right mission and the right cause, we need to stand up. We have to have the courage of our convictions. It is better to fight our fight and lose in the short term than to fight the wrong fight and perpetuate the system of injustice. We must reject the politics of conciliation and retreat."
>
> To thunderous applause, he told the delegates to the Ypsilanti convention: "Rotating Presidents is not the issue. Having a more beneficent slave master is not the issue. The issue is we're living on a plantation and we have to replace it. The choice is not about rotating Presidents, but about building a new society. The choice is about changing a bankrupt, corrupt, racist, sexist, and homophobic society. We do not need to tinker with the status quo or to fine-tune the engine which is grinding up millions of Americans. We don't want to refine it; we want to replace it and build a new society."

Ron Daniels is on the ballot in Washington, and I hope you will read the Voters Pamphlet and judge whether he is worthy of your vote. In any case, I hope you will not waste your vote by voting for someone whom you judge to be a (lesser) Evil.

In the August issue of *Works In Progress* my column was on Lenora Fulani and New Alliance Party (also on the November ballot), and reader Marvin Stern has kindly sent me an article entitled "The New Alliance Party: A Study in Deception". Although it tends to mix up anti-Semiticism with anti-Zionism, this article contains much useful information about this dangerous organization. It was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1990, and presumably can be obtained from their Seattle office (Plaza 600 Building, Suite 720, 600 Stewart Street, Seattle 98101; 448-5349).

Dave is a columnist and supporter of Works In Progress.

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The Quincentennial: a Man

Raimon Panikkar

As the historical European saga in America completes half a millennium, and mindful of our unfulfilled responsibility, we submit this manifesto in hopes of eliciting resonance and support among a wide sector of the peoples preparing themselves for this commemoration. The defence of vested special interests should not prevent us from stressing the crucial moment through which humanity is now passing.

1. Commemorations have an irresistible mythic power. Memory belongs to Man and to history. Human memory cannot be repressed. Commemorations are manifestations of human nature, personal and historical. The present commemoration is fully justified and we want to adhere to it. It offers us a privileged occasion for understanding the march of history and steering it in more just directions.

2. Commemoration is not, however, a synonym for *celebration*, whether joyful festivities or sad lamentations. Ambivalence is inherent to the human condition and to historical events. Our adherence to this Commemoration can be neither a binge of triumphalism nor a melancholy funeral.

3. Every commemoration is profoundly rooted in human existence. It is an historical act which yet transcends history. It can also be an enabling act, one which opens up for us the possibility of exercising our freedom. We look backwards in order to leap forward, freeing ourselves from the inertia of history. Every commemoration is a remembering of the past, bringing it into the present in order to shape the future. The commemoration of the Quinticentennial is a time for remembrance, a time to recall twin aspects of the past and to insert them in their corresponding contemporary situation: our memory of the Hispanic *saga* as well as of the *tragic* dimensions of the selfsame events, revealing to us both the grand and the hypocritical dimensions of the present, and offering us an opportunity to weave these four dimensions together so as to forge our common destiny in greater freedom.

Commemoration is not, however, a synonym for* celebration. . .*Our adherence to this Commemoration can be neither a binge of triumphalism nor a melancholy funeral.

4. The Quinticentennial commemorates, on one hand, the Spanish saga, the Iberian thrust and the expansive European energy; it commemorates the tremendous vitality of Christianity and what was then called the civilizing mission of the Christian religion. There is no reason to doubt the heroism and the holiness which have accompanied both the conquest of America and the colonization of the world by the European genius. History does not recall another such feat. For 500 years, the European genius has burst upon the world. The techno-scientific civilization, of European origin and Christian ancestry, has come to reign over the entire planet. Something in this surely is worthy of commemoration—and of reflection. The much discussed "europeanization" of the world is, for good or ill, an historical fact of grandiose proportions.

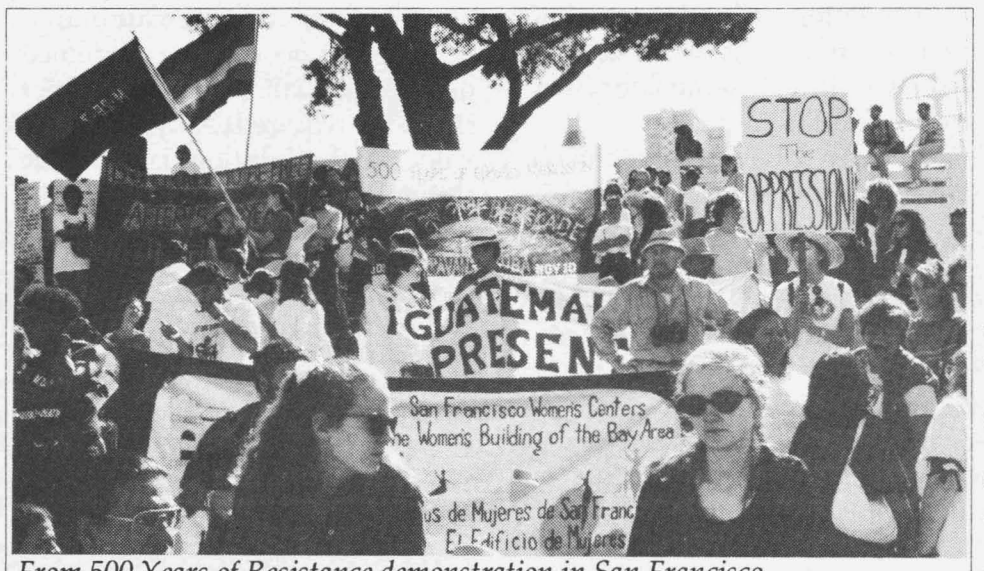


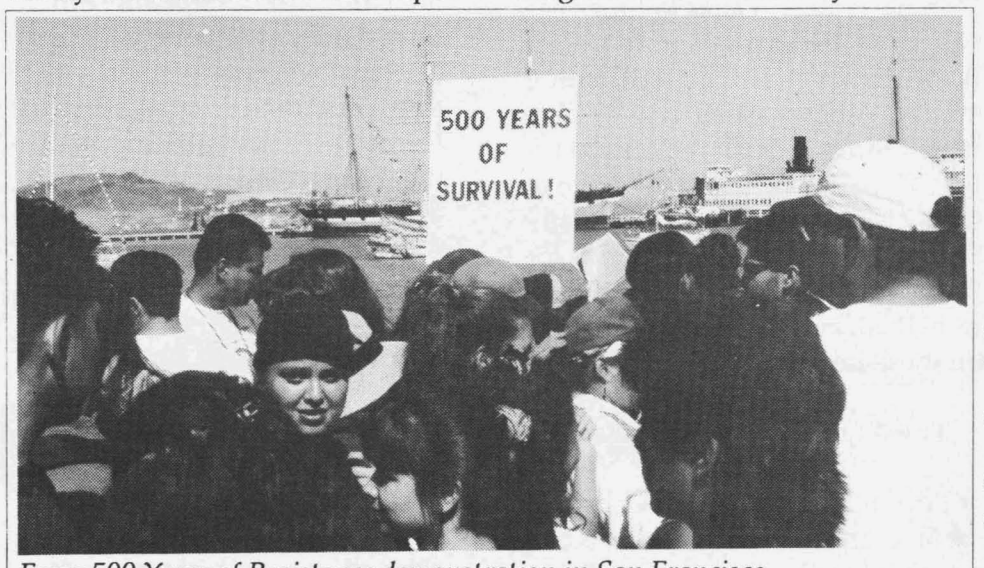
photo by Dave Campbell

From 500 Years of Resistance demonstration in San Francisco.

5. At the same time, we also commemorate the other side: one of the greatest symbolic destructions in human history. To destroy a symbol is equivalent to a crime of le´seculture, to a culturicide. The actual icons are resistant to fire, but not to derision; they resist persecution and martyrdom, but not desacralization and apostasy. Europe and its Christianity have been iconoclastic. Upon their contact with the "New World," entire cultures collapsed and almost disappeared. What initially was not even a conquest but a discovery, turned into one of the most horrific genocides of history. Cross-cultural misunderstanding, which obviously includes the religious dimension, occasioned the literal decimation of the indigenous population, 90% of which disappeared in the course of a few generations. Natural rhythms were broken, and this rupture brought about the tragedy to which history attests beyond all doubt. Where once there were roughly a hundred million, only ten remained. The world's population has increased tenfold since then, but indigenous peoples have to this day recuperated scarcely half their numbers.

The fact that Jewish people condemned Jesus is no justification for anti-semitism; there is likewise no reason to promote anti-Europeanism or westernophobia because white people perpetuated such acts. People are not irresponsible puppets in the hands of destiny; we are all embarked on an historical and metaphysical adventure which manifests itself precisely in moments such as this Commemoration.

6. The Commemoration must not limit itself either to exalting the epic saga or lamenting the undeniable tragedy. Rather than boundless celebration or relentless condemnation, we must make the effort to understand. Understanding is difficult for both sides. There has hardly been dialogue; sympathy has been lacking, equality elusive. Beyond all else, understanding on the part of the defeated is heroic; it is not easy to forget or to forgive. Forgetfullness is usually the victor's syndrome. But forgiveness will be less arduous if the victors have the good grace to humbly ask for it. We must never forget that only reconciliation brings peace, and that we are now offered a major occasion for contributing to such a peace between the peoples: the very peace for which all the world longs, and which has turned out to be an indispensable condition for the survival of humankind, indeed, of the planet. The cultures of that time were unable to understand one another. But without reconciliation, we cannot even begin to understand—let alone to tolerate one another, complement one another, and love one another. It is not a vicious circle, but a vital one. Everything is implicated in everything. There are no



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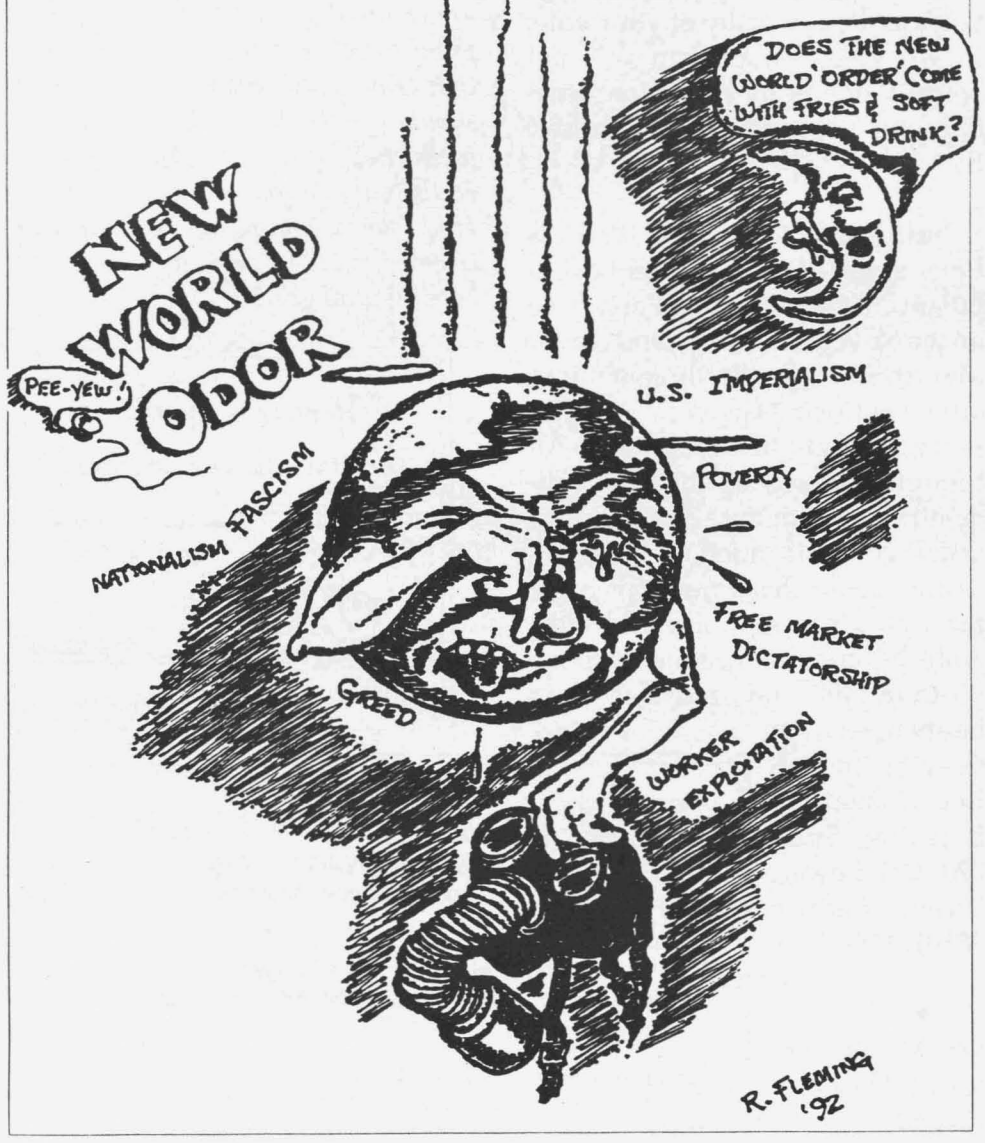
From 500 Years of Resistance demonstration in San Francisco.

In Sum

by Randy Fleming



nifesto

victors here and vanquished there. We have all been marked by destiny, branded by our history. What is at stake today, in a just commemoration of the Quinticentennial, is the very possibility for human peace in the Third Millennium.

7. We have said that a commemoration is also a project For the present. It reveals the greatness of today's culture, along with its Christian and European roots. This culture has not only accomplished unforeseen technological feats, it has also given us a sensitivity which seemed impossible for Western and Westernized Man not so long ago. What was 500 years ago the timid belief of a very few—that neither Western culture nor the Christian religion have a monopoly on being human or an exclusive pipeline to God—what a Vitoria glimpsed, a Las Casas accused, and a Mendieta suffered, today becomes more and more the common belief of a large , and ever growing Western minority. If Europe loses its self-critical sense, it renounces one of its most precious conquests - acquired through reflection on its own errors. It is not a question of fostering an unhealthy guilt complex, but of the West asking itself if it did not go awry in its civilizing project and in its own interpretation of the Christian faith. It is this capacity for doubt and criticism that constitutes the greatness of Europe. Few Europeans would do again what was done 500 years ago.

8 . And yet, in devious ways that we still call civilized, we continue doing it. This discovery might well be the real fruit of the "Discovery" of that time: the discovery of this present-day hypocrisy and its unmasking for a social majority who still have not realized it, due to propaganda generated by vested interests and maintained by the inertia of the human mind. Hypocrisy may even lie hidden beneath an exaggerated condemnation of past crimes, which tends to keep a lid on the discovery of present crimes no less severe, or at least effectively distracts us from them. Today we find ourselves in much the same situation as 500 years ago—with the aggravation that what occurred on one continent (or two, if we include the equally shameful phenomenon of slavery) is still taking place, on a world scale, with the full consent and collaboration of the politicians, technocrats, and citizens of every country and color, just as then the indigenous peoples also aided the Spanish in their conquests.

Europeans were not really conscious that their very presence brought microbial organisms which poisoned the bodies of the indigenous peoples; just as today, the organizations for so-called aid to the "Third World" are not aware that by their very contact, they destroy the cultures and the equilibrium of the rest of the planet.

Retrospectively, we see clearly the horrors of the Conquest. Yet we do not discern with sufficient clarity the even greater horrors entailed by seeking to impose upon the world a single culture. Thousands of children die from hunger, thousands of human beings from wars, and billions of our neighbors from poverty—a poverty that according to the unanimous diagnosis of experts will only increase. We have not yet liberated ourselves from our current zeal to feed the bodies of the "Third" World, just as we once set forth to save the souls of the "New" World—today we care about them dying of hunger; yesterday we cared about them not going to Hell. We have not liberated ourselves from the messianism of seeking to establish democracy, as earlier we sought an empire; of preaching a common market, as once we did a single religion; of unplanting a universal science, as before an ecumenical Church. And if earlier there was good faith, which exists as well today, this Commemoration should serve to awaken us from that European paroxysm which showed itself first in the Crusades, boomed in the Conquest, exploded in the "Industrial Revolution" and in our own time culminates in the urge to convert—for their own good, of course—all the peoples of the world to the ideology of "development."

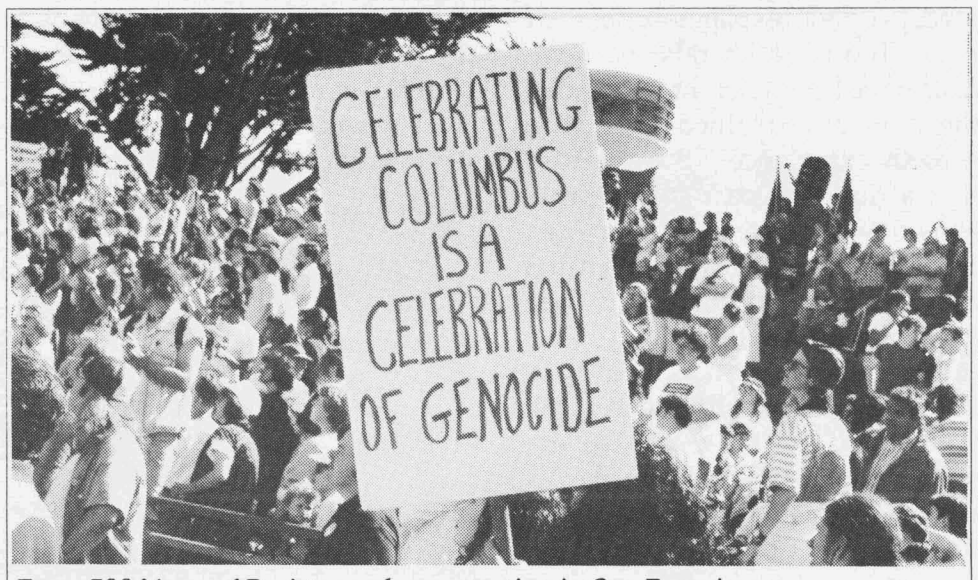


photo by Dave Campbell

From 500 Years of Resistance demonstration in San Francisco.

We would not go again to the Conquest. We would not be slave-hunters or even *encomenderos*. Yet we willingly collaborate in "development," in the new economic conquest of the world — thereby condemning three-fourths of humankind to live sub-human lives by alienating them from their own cultures, robbing them of their identities, and all the while maintaining our own artificial life-style, which can never be universalized.

9. Here then are the Acts of our Commemoration:

• We pledge not to erase the past, but to discover its ambivalence. To convoke both victors and vanquished in a genuine Commemoration—a task not as impossible as it may seem, since many Christians now consider themselves on the side of the vanquished, and because we have all become, in one way or another, *mestizos*, people of mixed blood. Just as neither Latin Americans nor North Americans are European, nor have the First Nations of these continents come unscathed through this half millennium. Just as neither the Spanish nor the Europeans are victors, nor are the indigenous peoples of the American continent defeated. These latter have gained more victories than may be evident at first glance. They have convened millions of Europeans to their cause, and have as well Mother Earth as a sorrowing ally—yet still a source of hope, since despite a hectare of forest clear-cut every minute, the Earth still has not gone on strike, and the trees and flowers still grow wherever water caresses them.

• Commemoration for reconciliation, since we have all suffered, though not always with the same intensity. The commemorative rites ought not to be solely in the European and Christian style, but should also include the rituals of indigenous peoples. And we refer to "ritual" in its broadest sense, encompassing not only the Divinity in these commemorative acts, but also the multiple modes of human participation, and the active presence of the Earth as well.

• Commemoration for a conjoined reflection on the world situation after experiences that are more than millennial, since both groups of people carry to this Commemoration memories that reach back much further than the past five hundred years. Five thousand years of human history offer themselves for our measured reflection. And this is perhaps the greatest historical imperative of our time: that the United Peoples of the Earth forge freely their own destiny, turning again to celebrate the *hieros gamos*, the sacred union of Man and Earth under the serene presence of Heaven.

The author of more than 30 books on the encounter of cultures, philosopher/theologian Raimon Panikkar is Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philosophy and History of Religions at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and currently resides near Barcelona. This manifesto was translated from the original Spanish for the Colloquium "Living with the Earth: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Sustainable Development" sponsored by the Intercultural Institute of Montreal at Montreal at Magog, Quebec, 30 April - May 3, 1992.

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L.A. - Six Months Later...

Jerome Johnson

It has been just six months since four Los Angeles police officers were acquitted (endorsed?) in the King case and since some of the worst rioting in the nation's history. It's been an interesting summer for people of color, especially black folks.

White people--especially strangers--go out of their way to be polite to me. Some act as if they're really seeing a person of color for the first time. Service in stores is faster, and restaurant food tastes better. I haven't been to the theater yet.

Presidential candidates debate, trying to get a job. None of them--except Ron Daniels--really addresses the concerns of people of color. They denounce prejudice but are silent on sexism and women's issues a year after Anita Hill's testimony.

Every politician except Ken Eikenberry and Ross Perot courts my vote. In the media, my concerns are more frequently addressed: health care, family leave, social security, Somalia, South Africa. It's uncool to be racist, and *homophobia*? Aren't we being a little *sensitive?* And What do women *want*, anyway? And so on...liberal always, never racist.

Presidential candidates debate, trying to get a job. None of them--except Ron Daniels--really addresses the concerns of people of color. They denounce prejudice but are silent on sexism and women's issues a year after Anita Hill's testimony. Slick Willie knows he has many of us in a hostage situation: as a conservative Democrat he's little better than Bush, but some better is better than no better. Despite enforcing the death penalty and calling for 100,000 more police, he knows that we know we'll grudgingly, watchfully vote for him. After all, we also know who is most likely to be jailed and executed.

In Los Angeles, promises swiftly made are slow in the keeping. Marion Barry got a new job in Washington D.C., and David Dinkins rescued a cemetery in New York. In Oregon, Lon Mabon unleashed a wave of terror against lesbians and gays, while it was just another grueling hot summer for migrants and farm workers. Jesse Jackson registered voters in Mississippi, Bob Buchanan was murdered by racists in Olympia, and Mae Jamison rode into history atop a pillar of fire.

Rodney King has rejected a $1.75 million settlement offer from the City of Los Angeles, and changed lawyers.

Jerome is the host of Up Front, Wednesdays 1pm on KAOS.

Family Values: *The Way We Never Were*

Joli Sandoz and Jean Jackman

Stephanie Coontz' new book, The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap *(Basic Books), has won its author appearances on network TV and National Public Radio, and space in newspapers and magazines across the country. Coontz, a member of the faculty at The Evergreen State College, wrote the book , she says, "to let families off the hook." A self-described 60s activist, Coontz' mission is to get people to think beyond shallow "family values" rhetoric. "Contrary to popular opinion," she writes in* The Way We Never Were, *"Leave it to Beaver was not a documentary." We talked with Coontz in her comfortably cluttered Olympia living room.*

You're a historian. Why did you decide to focus on families?

I'm a social historian, interested in how social change occurs. I'm also interested in women's history, but I was unhappy with the existing women's histories - the histories either ignored women, or used men as a monolithic backdrop against which women are oppressed. Families are a place to see women interacting as real and differentiated individuals.

Did you go into your research with a thesis and did you find any surprises?

I knew that cross-culturally families varied tremendously, so I was prepared to find variation. But I was unprepared to find how much [variation]there is even in mainstream traditional families. Families of the same class, same race, and same religion had a completely different outlook within 100 years of each other. In one era, something might be called common sense, in another crazy behavior.

Diversity is more visible now. In the 1950s, people could get away with refusing to admit it [diversity] existed. Now - either we learn to live with it and go with its strengths, or we say, "Hey, look at all the problems. It must be all this diversity."

If you had to narrow it down to a sentence or two, what is the central theme of your book?

There is no golden age, no magic bullet. No single family form or set of values is guaranteed to work.

The Murphy Brown-Dan Quayle debate is very trivial. There are new problems and real pain. We can't stop with the idea of a golden age; we need a more nuanced debate. At least talking about family values gives people an explanation for their pain. Too often liberals and feminists have been tolerant but denied the pain or explained it as all a growth experience. But the idea that a mythical past solves problems does a disservice to families. This latter agenda in the long run is at worst mean-spirited and at best an excuse for inaction.

There is a hopeful point here. Polls ask people simplistic questions; you get the polarized answers the politicians love to play to. But when you sit ordinary people down in a room, within 10 minutes they are discussing these issues at a higher level than the politicians have attained at any point in this [current presidential] campaign.

What is it that's causing people's pain?

There are the economic and political transformations, which the conservatives ignore. And liberals for their part ignore the moral side. To say there's a moral side is not to say you must end up moralizing. There is a moral crisis involved, but at a much higher level than collapse of the family. When I talk to groups of people, fairly often someone will say something like, 'Gosh when I was young if I walked down the street and did something wrong, a neighbor disciplined me. It wasn't just my parents who kept an eye out.' What we need to think through now is how we're going to do community.

Liberal capitalism originally pretended that taking care of commitment was to have women do it; men had no responsibility in this area and women were to take care of nurturing and character. This allowed society to ignore the poor by saying they just didn't have a good family life [i.e., poor men and women were assumed to be poor because they wern't handling their domestic responsibilities correctly] - and to ignore that society had no good way to handle morals.

In order to discard moral standards in the public sphere, we had to put the burden on women. But today to some extent women could no longer take care of nurturing even if they wanted to - and they don't. This causes panic: "If women won't do it, nobody will." The result is blaming women.

This is a crisis. The way to solve it is to rethink moral behavior in the public sphere. We're having to rethink our public commitments, our economic principles of justice. What does it mean that the average CEO make 160 times as much as the average employee?

. . . the idea that a mythical past solves problems does a disservice to families. This latter agenda in the long run is at worst mean-spirited and at best an excuse for inaction.

TESC faculty member Stephanie Coontz poses with her latest book, The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap.

We have so few experiences of having a public ethic in this country. For example, we've never had the tradition of funding public space. Our attitude has been that we're not going to build parks [with public funds generated by taxes], we'll just leave you with the ability to escape [if you have the money].

The crisis of families is that we can no longer solve big moral/ethical/political issues by assigning 1/2 to women and 1/2 to men. *We* need to rethink this. Politicians have a vested interest in not changing the system. And we can't go back to the very early days in America, as some suggest. Family arrangements then rested on slavery; the benefactors were all white and all male. This is not a big enough definition of public society.

Is the present ferment around family values positive?

We're really at a crossroads. There is ferment, but it so often takes place in polarized and poll-taking mentality. My main solution is to get people to talk about it. If there was a issue of daylight savings time, for example, that I had to consider only in the voting booth, I'd vote yes. Everyone else is going to vote their interests, too. But if you put me in a room full of people in Tenino [for example], where I have to listen to other people talk about why they are against daylight savings time and where I have to be responsible for my vote, I'm going to change my decision.

I sometimes think the family issue is going to backfire for the right wing because if the issue gets hot enough so people start talking about it, opinions are going to change. A grassroots movement could demand discussion on a different level. Politicians then won't be able to go from interest group to interest group, but will have to bring people together.

The shallow level of the debate is "return to families". What's the deeper level?

We're posed with a historic choice. In the 1830s, the country moved from a rural economy to wage labor, in the early 1900s to mass production and a mass consumer society. Now that we're coming out of this last period, we have two choices: sit down and discuss where we're going, or massive denial - which is where much of the family values debate is. One example is saying that the inequalities of the workplace are trivial compared to families. "Family values" is displacing the debate about connections between economics and the political system, the care of children and interpersonal commitments. All

(Continued next page)

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(Family, continued)

of that becomes turned into a debate about forms of the family. It's easier to moralize than develop a new moral system.

What form should a deeper level debate take? What would it look like?

[pause] I don't want it to look like I'm copping out on this question. But we have so little experience with debate that it's hard to imagine. Things unthinkable to us right now can happen very quickly. Perhaps one aspect would be to shift our current debate from superwoman vs women who stay at home to care for their families, to what we want from our police, and so on. I think once we decide to deal with the deeper questions the debate will take form.

Is what's happening in Oregon now, where the Oregon Citizens Alliance is working to take away the civil rights of a particular group of citizens, related to all of this?

Oh, sure. We have to stop thinking that if we could pretend diversity didn't exist, it would go away - the idea that there is only one natural right way to relate. David Blankenhorn of the Institute for American Values has said that family values are how we feel about marriage, parenting, sex. By that definition, the best family in America is an organized crime family. Think about it: chastity, no divorce, strong intergenerational ties.

I'm concerned that lesbians and gays feel left out when we talk about families.

Kids are everybody's most important resource. We all not only owe something to kids, but expect to get something from them. Your social security will be paid by the next generation, just to give one example. Everyone should have the choice not to have children. At the same time there is something special about kids.

Perhaps the issue should be posed in terms of privileging children, not a certain type of family.

Exactly. When I testified before Congress in July [Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-CO, invited Coontz to speak before the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families], I took Kristopher [Coontz' 11 year old son] with me. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan testified for 1/2 hour about the problems caused by single-parent families. There was a break, and Kristopher turned to me and said, "Is he saying that I'm going to grow up to be a criminal because you're a single parent?" He wanted to go right to Moynihan and confront him.

The majority of American people are concerned about family values. I've seen a poll in which 71% of the population said that there is a moral crisis in America. But the pollster forgot to ask, "Are you willing to condemn those who don't share your values?" Most Americans are not. When I appear on talk shows, it's unfortunate that the moralistic callers are almost invariably vicious. This isn't a function of religion itself. The same kind of religion that in a time of social movements and hope can be evangelical and say we can make everyone perfect and be full of hope about that can, in a different historical period, say that everyone but me and a few more are going to hell in a handbasket.

Do ideas about women and men and their relationships result in a certain "acceptable" family form?

The pattern you find is that the more people who downplay the mutual social responsibilities in society, the more it becomes absolutely crucial that we have hierarchy in families to make sure that these are delegated to one person. The denial of one's responsibilities to other families correlates with the idea that men must be in charge to make sure women take care of their own kids.

Is separatism - women raising their kids alone or together, without help from men - the healthiest route for women?

Some women have taken that route and not without reason. I don't envision that as the solution for society. I'm a firm subscriber to the [John] Donne idea that no man is an island - and no woman, either. We can't have a decent one-half of society without considering the other half.

And things can change. For example, in a very short period of time, some men have come to spend more time with their families. Never before would you have seen as many men out walking their babies in strollers as you see now. It's also true that some men do desert their families. There is a polarization of experience [not one single way men act], and that's important.

So there isn't one best way to organize a family?

We can emphasize weak points or say that every family has strong points. Single-parent families have certain dangers they need to avoid and also have strong points. For example, single parents tend toward less time interacting with teachers and supervising homework, facts which can be correlated with negative consequences in school. Single parents also talk with their children more often and require less social conformity of them - both of which are statistically correlated with above-average academic achievement. Two-parent families, on the other hand, have the strengths of spending more time supervising homework and talking to teachers, but they don't talk to their children as often and their children tend to have too little independence and exposure to other role models. Every family has certain strengths in certain environments. Attacking single-parent families is pretending that two-parent families don't need help.

. . . the more people who downplay the mutual social responsibilities in society, the more it becomes absolutely crucial that we have hierarchy in families. . .

And traditional families don't always work. Frequently we credit families for successes that were the result of a different economic and political climate. I know of a long-term study of people born in the 20s who started work in the 40s and 50s. By the time these people were 40 and 50 years old, researchers could not tell who had come from severely dysfunctional families. They had opportunities for stable jobs and stable relationships. And they had outside supports to make up for their families' failures - the GI Bill, and the government reorganization of the banking system to make homes more available.

In Hawaii, when my son was a toddler, we were at a party and I noticed I was the only parent jumping up to change my child's diaper, feed him, wipe his nose. I thought everyone else was watching their own kids, but I was wrong. What they *were* doing was keeping an eye on the space in front of their own chairs. Parents took care of whichever children wandered into their space. They knew their own kids were being similarly cared for. There is more than one way to organize these things.

Jean Jackman and Joli Sandoz are freelance writers.

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This open letter is to all non-indians practicing native spirituality

This open letter is to all non-indians practicing native spirituality, or what some of us like to refer to as cultural genocide. Spirituality based on theory rather than culture. While describing european-based ancestors rarely are the ancient heroes referred to as myths. Yet when describing indigenous heroes, they are often described as a myths. This only furthers the stereotype that native cultures merely existed in stories.

This stereotype is also reinforced by the lack of accurate history of native culture in amerikkka's history books. You speak of these ancient ones as if they were objects for you to behold and enjoy. Often times when european-based cultures cannot prove a story or thesis told to them, it is dismissed as myth, and cast into an abyss also referred to as ymca indian guides, the boy scouts' order of the arrow and indian lore merit badges.

The old ones of the many cultures that lived on Turtle Island are not fictitious nor are they to be used for misguided ceremonies and men's bonding therapy sessions. We are not dead, ask us how we feel about you using portions of our, or our brothers' and sisters' spirituality; and don't just ask the ones who you know have sold this sweat lodge or that pipe.

You all beat your drum because a great white leader told you to, this is not right. You don't beat the drums of your ancestors, in fact you seem to want to forget that you even had ancestors, borrowing from several other cultures as if it would satisfy the craving in your soul. I'm sorry it cannot. We must all look deep into our own ancestry. No matter how hard or even how long, we must be honest in our attempts to gain spiritual freedom. For some it is a lifelong quest.

You speak of shamans and strive to be so much in tune with shamanic ideals. Yet you are willing to learn from anyone who will take your money, and usually they will take your money. I find it disturbing the number of non-native shamans who will attempt to heal your souls. I know many indigenous peoples have been criticized for stating our opinions about this subject, but i find it ironic that you would embrace a portion of native culture, but cast away the voices of living people when they express their feelings towards your racism. I am aware of people who will gladly share aspects of their native culture with non-native folks, so don't call us separatist or racist if we are not willing to give our entire body and soul. Your ancestors have been trying that since columbus landed nearly 500 years ago and began the slaughter. Thanks for your time.

G. W. Galbreath

Stepping over the Precipice

Perot's Electronic Town Hall

Kimberly Kinchen

1992: Another election year, and yet more predictions of all-time low voter turn-outs. The media doomsayers egg on the malaise in the public trust of its elected representatives can only increase the probability that the lowest voter turn-out ever remains to be seen in November. One candidate, however, H. Ross Perot, has offered a vision that aims to re-establish the ability of voters to influence the political powers that be: the electronic town hall. As voters, we see ...violations [of the public's trust] as proof that ...our voice in government is being stifled. It is this voice that the "electronic townhall' proposes giving back to constituents.

It is through vision of the "electronic town hall" that Perot proposes giving political power back to constituents. Here's how it works: pending decisions on policy issues are presented to a nation of viewers on interactive television or some other form of mass communication- radio, or electronic (computer) mail or billboard. This "national village" of viewers weighs information presented by the President and Congress, and responds in support or opposition to a given proposal- in effect votes, because these results are the ones that will, ostensibly, create national policy. The idealized version of the Electronic Town Hall offered by Perot- is described by Philip Elmer-Dewitt:

> ...it is 1994. The economy is still stagnating, Japan remains in the doldrums as well, interest rates are rising, and the deficit has reached $600 billion. Something has to be done- and quickly. President Ross Perot, making food on a campaign promise, gets on the horn to the TV networks and organizes one of his famous electronic town meetings. That night, before a television audience Murphy Brown would die for, he lays out the nation's precarious economic situation and the stark choices the U. S. confronts. Even before his presentation is over, the returns begin to pour in- by telephone, fax, computer modem, videophone and two-way interactive cable TV. By morning, the will of the American people is clear: they have decided to cut back on Social Security payments, further slash military spending and raise their own taxes.

This scenario assumes far too much: it assumes equal and economical access, an informed and thoughtful constituency, the quiet overriding of congressional representation, and that the privacy of respondents is never threatened.

Perot and his protagonists argue that the required electronic technology is already in place, accessible and feasible. A constituent must have one of the following to respond in this "national village" meeting: a personal computer with a modem and access to an electronic mail account or electronic billboard; a telephone; a fax machine; video phone; or two-way interactive cable television (The ideal medium according to Perot and company).

The first problem is sheer volume of response. The telephone is arguably the most accessible of these, because most homes do have them and their use is relatively inexpensive. If used by even a conservative percentage of the millions of U.S. households - say 10 million - such volume over a 12-hour period would place a huge burden not only on the private carriers but also on the receiving lines. And don't forget the hours of waiting many callers would no doubt spend trying to get through (One can hear the first generation of the electronic town hall participants thinking how much easier it was to get the runaround from the government by simply voting in those useless representatives). We are left with a questionably "easy" means of access.

[An electronic town hall,] as Elmer-Dewitt points out, would remove the checks and balances that "guard against popular whims and demagoguery while protecting minority groups from tyranny by the majority."

Personal computers, still not economically feasible for a large sector of the population, even with their relative commonness, present a similar problem in terms of response volume: more electronic lines jammed for the duration of the response hours, with users trying over and over when connections aren't available. Fax machines are hardly household items in spite of their increasingly frequent use in business. Video phones and interactive cable may be cutting edge technologies but are years away from being affordable for most people. If Perot - or anyone - held an electronic town meeting tomorrow, this medium wouldonly favor those able to afford the necessary technological toys. Hardly a revolution in giving a disenfranchised voting population a more accessible democracy.

The medium assumes, too, that Americans are intelligently, thoughtfully informed about the issues at hand, enough so to make vital policy decisions. In fact, it is hard to imagine that most Americans are informed beyond the sound-bytes culled from television news or the daily paper, both questionable sources of making informed judgements, being rife with bias and of questionable accuracy. The speed of decision-making required in this electronic medium counters responsible decision-making. When people are asked to give quick yes or no answers regarding complex issues,

with limited information, democracy is in real trouble. One can only imagine the decisions the mass of U.S. citizens would make in the thralls of rage over some international incident, with incomplete information and a biased President and Congress framing the terms of the vote. The fantasy of the electronic town hall makes no allowances for the necessity of careful, thoughtful decision making, which is supposed to be the responsibility of elected representatives.

The threat to representative democracy, then, is also very real. Perot's town hall does call for the President and Congress to present issues to viewers. In effect it works to override Congressional authority in decision making, authority which has been given by voters, disgruntled or not. The responses culled from such a national "majority rules" would in fact eliminate the function of Congress, and, as Elmer-Dewitt points out, would remove the checks and balances that "guard against popular whims and demagoguery while protecting minority groups from tyranny by the majority." It seems more reasonable to expect voters to conduct electronic town meetings with their elected representatives, as a way for officials to assess their constituents' stances, which in turn should inform the representative's decisions. The Perot town hall bypasses those representatives entrusted with making these careful decisions. But it does not consider the option of putting more direct pressure on those officials so that they are more likely to make decisions and act in closer accordance with their constituent's desires.

By participating in the electronic town hall, we also risk our right to a private vote. Especially under Perot, as Ronnie Dugger reminds us:

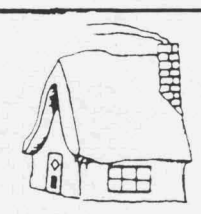
> Perot has deep expertise in computer and communications technologies...the billionaire's telephone banks..have push-button options and that his petition committee can identify the numbers of incoming calls. These numbers have been shipped to a database company and could lead...to the amassing of "details about the callers' hobbies, purchasing habits and other electronically available histories."

There are substantial obstacles to tracking such rifts of privacy in what would be a huge electronic network. Who regulates such things, and who regulates the regulators when there are often huge economic stakes at hand? When private rights and the right to privacy are so cherished by the United States, there is no reason to give sanction to the parameters of Perot's town hall.

The electronic town hall of H. Ross Perot appears only on the surface to alleviate the disempowered U.S. voter. Its narrowly conceived stage presents too many potential risks that would only serve to hush rather than amplify the voices of voters. Can voters embrace a proposal aimed at their own rejuvenation when it is full of loopholes and contradictions to democratic process? As desperate as we may be, we cannot afford to let ourselves step over this precipice that is disguised as a panacea.

Kimberly is a student at The Evergreen State College.

David Kindle
Sales Associate



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Boycott: Shell Oil Company - Called by: United Mine Workers of America

Zachary D. Lyons

Nutshell: Royal Dutch/Shell, parent of Shell Oil Company, continues to do business in South Africa, despite repeated calls by leaders of South Africa's black majority for it and other foreign companies to pull out of the country in support of their fight for democracy.

The Shell Oil boycott, called by the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) in 1986, continues amid increasing violence and recent massacres in South Africa.

"Apartheid is still the law of the land in South Africa," asserts Kenneth S. Zinn, Boycott Coordinator for the UMW, "and Royal Dutch/Shell and its wholly-owned subsidiary, Shell South Africa, still provide strategic petroleum products to the South African government, including to the army and the police, the enforcers of apartheid.

"We acknowledge that significant changes have taken place in South Africa since the boycott began," says Zinn, "changes we believe are the result of the combined pressure of international economic sanctions and the domestic struggle for democracy. However, the fundamentals of the racist system are still in place, not the least of which is the fact that the black majority population which comprises more than 84 percent of the population still is denied the right to vote."

"Shell Oil Company (USA) has no investment, operations or employees in South Africa," states materials sent to *The Boycott Monthly* by G. C. Goodier, Jr., Manager of Corporate External Affairs for Shell Oil Company. "It neither controls the existence nor the activities of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group owned company which does operate in that country. The only link between Shell Oil and Shell South Africa is ownership of both companies by the same parent companies...

"Shell Oil Company is operated by its officers and employees, under the direction of its Board of Directors as an autonomous, separate American company. All of its corporate officers are American citizens and ten of the twelve directors are Americans. Six of these ten are neither officers nor employees of any Shell company, but are leading American businessmen. Shell Oil Company has its own business, which is not integrated with that of, or coordinated by, any of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of companies.

"Shell Oil and all other companies in the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies totally condemn apartheid and want to see it end quickly and peacefully," the Shell statement continues. "The management of Shell South Africa has been an outspoken critic of the South African government's apartheid policy and an advocate for major economic, social and political reforms. The Group is committed to doing everything it reasonably can to contribute to the end of apartheid.

"While there is considerable debate as to whether disinvestment has had any impact on South Africa government policies, there is no question that it has further concentrated ownership of South African industry in the hands of the white community. Were Royal Dutch/Shell to withdraw from South Africa, the business would continue to operate under new South African owners since the physical assets cannot be removed. In addition, there would be no change in the oil supply to South Africa since no Shell company outside South Africa is supplying such oil.

"Despite recent events, there may be a greater opportunity for positive change in South Africa than anyone could have hoped for several years ago," concludes the statement from Shell Oil. "Ending apartheid is going to take the involvement and support of many different individuals and organizations in South Africa. Shell South Africa feels they have a role and want to participate in this process."

"Our boycott is directed at Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies and all of its subsidiaries because of Royal Dutch/Shell's investments and policies in South Africa," the UMW's Kenneth Zinn responds. "As the company admits, both Shell Oil Company in the U.S. and Shell South Africa are wholly-owned by Royal Dutch/Shell. What Royal Dutch/Shell will not admit is that with ownership comes responsibility."

Lo van Wachem, out-going chairman of Royal Dutch/Shell, spoke on the South Africa issue to *Shell World*: "It is important to stick to ethical values even when it becomes difficult to do so in practice. Our Statement of General Business Principles is of great importance here, because it means that every Shell company is assured that their colleagues, world wide, have the same code to follow, wherever they may be."

"...Of course, we have a social duty towards our personnel, our clients and towards the people who live near and around our installations. That much is obvious," van Wachem continued. "A company has only so much responsibility, though. It has neither the mandate nor the ability to shoulder the responsibility, however extended that responsibility may be, for everything that may go wrong when you live in the midst of others.

"On the subject of 'human rights' I would react very carefully. How do you define violation of human rights? Naturally, when the relevant UN commission passes judgement that carries weight, just as the opinions of Amnesty International do.

"It is just the same as for South Africa," says van Wachem. "If you up sticks and leave a country, then you can no longer bring any influence to bear on society and its subsequent improvement. That means in principle you must stay, even if, as far as human rights are concerned, the country has a somewhat tarnished image."

"While there is considerable debate as to whether disinvestment has had any impact on South African government policies, there is no question that it has further concentrated ownership of South African industry in the hands of the white community." Royal Dutch/Shell Group

"Nothing has changed in South Africa to prompt the abandonment of the Shell Boycott," reiterates Zinn. "Nelson Mandela may be out of jail but the black people of South Africa - which comprise 84 percent of the population - are still imprisoned. They are still not allowed to vote. They still cannot live where they want. A great majority of them still live in abject poverty while the minority white community lives in comparative luxury. Black people are still getting massacred by security forces. In short, apartheid is alive and well in South Africa.

"And who sells refined petroleum products to those security forces?" points out Zinn. "Why, our friends at Shell South Africa, wholly-owned by Royal Dutch/Shell. Yes, it is true that Shell South Africa has publicly criticized the South African government and has urged the abolition of apartheid. Not coincidentally, these statements began after the institution of our boycott. But why should the De Klerk regime listen when Shell continues its dirty business of selling oil to the army and police, the enforcers of apartheid? With its 'wink and nod' ethics, Shell South Africa wants it both ways.

"The bottom line," maintains Zinn, "is that the United Mine Workers of America, the AFL-CIO, TransAfrica, the American Committee on Africa, the NAACP, and over 100 other national U.S. membership organizations started this boycott because the democratic organizations of South Africa asked us to. Similarly, when they ask us to end it, we will do so. *They have told us to continue.* If Royal Dutch/Shell wants the boycott to end..., I would suggest they talk to F. W. de Klerk [and] get him to end the bloodshed and return to the bargaining table so that the apartheid system can be abolished once and for all."

The United Mine Workers of America are asking that all concerned individuals continue to boycott all Shell Oil Company products.

For more information, or to express your concerns, you may contact Shell Oil and the United Mine Workers of America as follows:

Shell Oil Company
One Shell Plaza
PO Box 2463
Houston, TX 77252

United Mine Workers of America
900 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005

Boycott Update: Tuna

Mark Berman of Earth Island Institute (EII) has notified *The Boycott Monthly* that, as of October 1, 1992, the following tuna brands have been added to the EII dolphin-safe list: **Natural Sea by Cornucopia Foods, Figaro cat food by Bumble Bee, Captain's Choice by Safeway and tuna marketed by the Kraft Foods Service**. Please note that Kraft Foods Service is a subsidiary of **Philip Morris**. These brands join previously confirmed dolphin-safe brands, which are: **Starkist, Chicken of the Sea, Bumble Bee, Deep Sea Tongol and Ocean Light by Humble Whole Foods, and 9-Lives cat food by H. J. Heinz**. All other brands, regardless of labelling, are not confirmed dolphin-safe by EII.

Other Boycott Briefs:

The **American Indian Movement (AIM)** has called for a boycott of the **Heileman Brewing Company**. Heileman is marketing a beer called **Crazy Horse** which AIM finds to be racist. Heileman produces such other regional beers as **Old Style, Mickey's and Rainier**. *The Boycott Monthly* will report on this boycott in more detail in an up-coming issue. The **American Association of University Professors** (AAUP) ended its two-year boycott of the **University of Bridgeport**, in Connecticut, in accordance with an agreement between AAUP and the University, which has been taken over by the **Unification Church**. More information will follow in the first issue of *The Boycott Quarterly Update*, which subscribers will receive in January, 1993.

Correction:

Vol. 2, No. 5, of *The Boycott Monthly* incorrectly identified **Q-Tips** as produced by American Home Products. It is, in fact, produced by **Johnson & Johnson**. **Q-Tips Thermometers** are produced by **American Home Products**. Also, Action for Corporate Accountability wished to clarify that one to two million babies die each year from Bottle Baby Disease, *not* one to three million, as reported in Vol. 2, No. 5.

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Torricelli Bill - U.S. Threat to Cuba of Inhumanity

Lauren Petit

The United States has maintained a hostile policy toward Cuba since the revolution in 1959 which put Fidel Castro at the head of Cuba's government and set the country on its path to self- determination. This path has led Cuba to develop national health care and education systems that are free and available to all citizens, to raise the literacy rate to 98% of the population and lower infant mortality rates to levels enviable by many (including U.S. inner cities). The Cuban government and the people of that island have committed themselves to the continuing challenge of rejecting their historical colonization and subjugation by operating the country in the interests of its own people and following an economic and social model which is outside of the dominant capitalist world economy. In so doing, Cuba has incurred the wrath of its neighborhood bully, the United States.

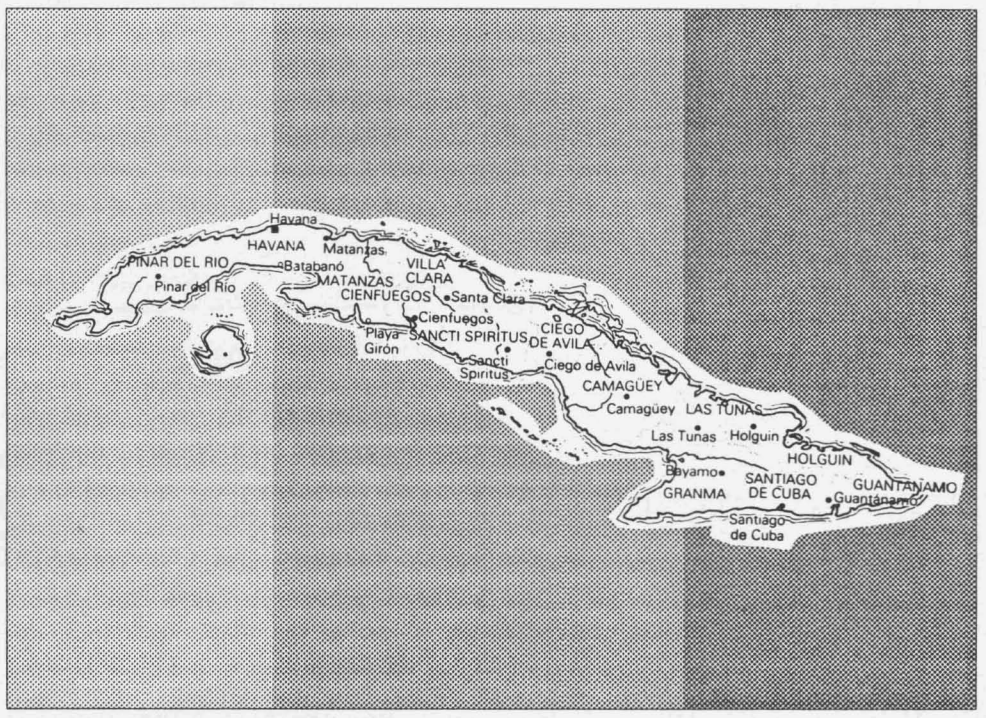
The U.S. government has applied pressure on Cuba through a number of channels; militarily, through intervention and the persistent threat of military force, economically, through an embargo on trade, in public opinion by waging campaigns of misinformation about Cuba's government and and through acts easily classified as terrorist, including assasination attempts. The U.S. has long given the excuse for its malicious misuses of power against Cuba that the Soviet Union was using the island as a base from which to launch its attack on the leader of capitalism that Communism may reign supreme. The fact that the U.S. has chosen to tighten its noose around Cuba's neck at a time when the Soviet Union no longer exists, Communism, according to U.S. rhetoric, is dead and most of Cuba's trade contracts have been broken, clearly demonstrates that it has never been the threat of Communist attack that has motivated its policy against Cuba. The passage and sure adoption of a recent Congressional bill effectively attempting to isolate Cuba from all sources of trade finally reveals the true U.S. interests as imperialistic and self-serving. The U.S. refuses to accept the independent functioning of a country it once controlled and profitted from, and it yearns for Cuba's groundbreaking rebellion and social development to be "proven" wrong to others who find hope in its example.

The bill introduced to Congress by Representative Torricelli (D-NJ) includes three provisions that would have a devastating impact on Cuba and its people. Under Section 4 of this bill (HR5323), any country providing assistance to Cuba in the form of financial or military aid, favorable tariff treatment or debt adjustment will be denied any of this same assistance from the United States. Section 6 of the bill prohibits subsidiaries of U.S. based corporations operating on foreign soil and under foreign law from engaging in any trade relations with Cuba. It also bars any ship that is carrying goods or passengers to or from Cuba or that has docked in a Cuban port in the last 180 days from docking at a U.S. port (the definition of U.S. used being the United States, all its "territories and possessions" and the customs waters of the U.S.). The restrictions in these provisions reach into the sphere of punishment of other nations engaging in relations with Cuba. Aside from these most influential articles, the bill appropriates funds for such "informational sources" as Radio Marti- a U.S. produced radio station disseminating anti-Castro propaganda- and lays out its plan for an altered policy toward a "democratic Cuba," the necessary criteria for which includes a free market economy.

The resulting isolation of Cuba's economy, which is not internally self-sufficient, would create the inability for Cuba to provide basic sustenance for its people.

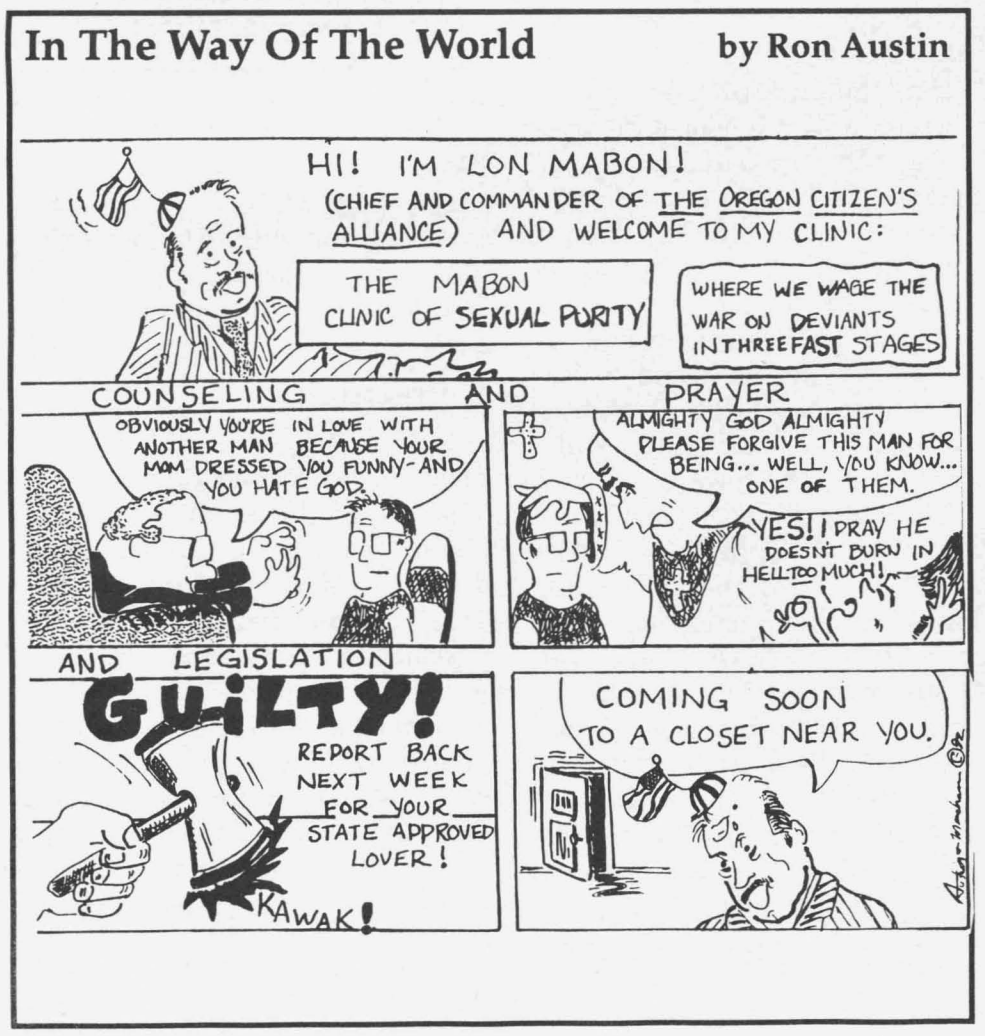
After passing in the House of Representatives, the original Torricelli bill died in the Senate due to time constraints. It was revived in a later session of Congress by incorporating it into the Defense Authorization Act (HR5066). This act encompasses all aspects of military appropriations and operations. The original bill was adopted in its full text as an amendment to the Defense Authorization Act. The entire package passed both the House and Senate and was placed on the President's desk on October 5 to await his signature.

The purpose of the Torricelli bill is to create a forced secondary boycott, making trade with Cuba unfeasible for other nations. The portions of the bill preventing subsidiary trade and denying ships U.S. port entrance cause contracts to provide even food and medicine, or the transportatioin of these, to be economically (and possibly politically) unsound because of the retaliation prescribed by the U.S.. The resulting isolation of Cuba's economy, which is not internally self-sufficient, would create the inability for Cuba to provide basic sustenance for its people. The bill's intended effects were recognized by Rep. Serrano (NY) when he spoke against the bill in House discussion. "We cannot kid ourselves. What we are doing here tonight and tomorrow is setting forth the mechanism to strangle the Cuban people, in the hope that by being strangled and by reaching a point of starvation they will rise up against their government."



The provisioins of the bill break universally accepted international law as well as standards of common decency. The United States is engaged in and obligated to the charters of several international organizations, including the United Nations and the Organization of American States, which forbid coercion of any kind for the purpose of threatening the political independence of any state. The OAS, under the Rio Treaty, which is binding on the U.S., specifically addressed international Cuban relations when it established that,"each member state is to determine for itself the nature of its economic and diplomatic relations with Cuba." This U.S. policy is clearly in

(Continued next page)


In The Way Of The World
by Ron Austin
HI! I'M LON MABON!
(CHIEF AND COMMANDER OF THE OREGON CITIZEN'S ALLIANCE) AND WELCOME TO MY CLINIC:
THE MABON CLINIC OF SEXUAL PURITY
WHERE WE WAGE THE WAR ON DEVIANTS IN THREE FAST STAGES
COUNSELING
AND
PRAYER
OBVIOUSLY YOU'RE IN LOVE WITH ANOTHER MAN BECAUSE YOUR MOM DRESSED YOU FUNNY- AND YOU HATE GOD.
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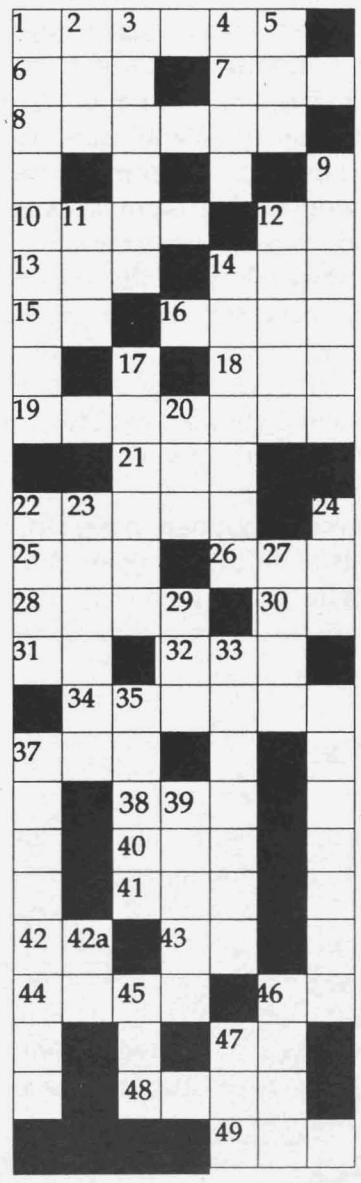

by Jerome Johnson

Solution next month

Across

1. Johannesburg's southwest township, (abbrev.)
6. You, in France
7. Unidentified Flying Objects, (abbrev.)
8. Local lake
10. "____ Or Be Killed"
12. The ____-15 Assault Rifle
13. Billie Holiday, Lady ____
14. General Motors Corporation, (abbrev.)
15. He was "Kung Fu's" Master Cain
16. Winnie the ___
18. Raw material
19. Current boxing champion
21. All, to Caesar
22. "She's ____ Have It"
25. Gold, in Italy
26. Israeli organization: Peace ____
28. Military bane
30. "____ Stryker"
31. Deep sleep, (abbrev.)
32. Chief Executive Officer, (abbrev.)
34. Plastic explosive
37. Actor Wheaton
38. Coolant
40. No, in France
41. Nashville Network
42. Jovian moon
43. Arts & Entertainment Network
47. Mr. Kettle
48. Stench
49. Vegetable

Down

1. Perot's running mate
2. Exclamation
3. "Finances are a ____ duty."
4. Anglican minister
5. Often, poetically
9. Robin Hood, for one
11. Author Fleming
12. Love, in Italy
14. Slain civil rights worker, Mississippi 1963
17. Baseball star
20. Cashews, for one
22. Raw material
23. Dance style
24. Logger's "nemesis"
27. Musical instrument
29. Electronic countermeasures, (abbrev.)
33. Frenchman's name
35. Electronic intelligence, (abbrev.)
36. La Hollander
37. LA Police Chief
39. Barbarian
42a. Not off
45. Fuss
46. "Where Eagles _____"
47. Sand

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(Cuba, Continued)

conflict with the obligations of U.S. membership in these organizations.

The three main provisions also exist in contempt of many economic agreements the U.S. is a party to. The embargo against Cuba and extensions of it under this bill constitute trade barriers and are in direct contradiction to the U.S. responsibilities under the General Agreenent on Tariffs and Trade as well as to the newly formed North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. The provision involving subsidiaries violates the jurisdiction of the country under whose economic law the corporation functions. The barriers to ports can be interpreted as infringement on other nations' freedom of the seas. These issues of the illegality of this legislation have not gone unnoticed in the international community. It is only within this country that the bill receives no attention.

Opposition to this bill has been voiced by many different countries. The European community, with the United Kingdom taking special interest, filed their disapproval of the bill with the State Department arfter receiving notice of its introduction. The Group of 77 at the U.N., Canada and Mexico have all publicly condemned the legislation. Canada has make it illegal to comply with this bill, the Mexican Congress has passed a resolution refusing cooperation with it and 18 other countries in the European community have laws on the books to prevent this type of control of subsidiaries. Within this country, opposition has been expressed by several newspapers, including the *New York Times* and the *Miami Herald*, and statements deploring the bill have been published by the ACLU, the National Council on Churches and the American Public Health Association.

The United States government is not supported in its pending adoption of this bill. There are many ways that it can be protested on grounds of its being illegal and misdirected, but the most important consideration is that it is wrong and immoral to attempt to force the submission of a country's government through the suffering of its people.

The U.S./Cuba Friendshipment will question the morality and legality of the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba by organizing a caravan to deliver material humanitarian aid. The Friendshipment is a national Pastors for Peace project in which Seattle and many other cities across the U.S. are participatitng by sending as many vehicles as possible, filled with school and medical supplies, to Cuba. The Seattle/Cuba caravan will be joined by additional vehicles at stops along the way where educational and welcoming events will take place. The Nov.7 Olympia stop will be the first one on the Seattle route.

In preparation for the Nov. 7 caravan stop, a cultural event will be held Friday, October 30 with the intention of raising funds and awareness in support of the Friendshipment. It will take place at 8:30 PM at the First Christian Church in Olympia and will include open discussion and slide presentations by Don McIntosh, a Portland activist working against U.S. policy toward Cuba, and Peter Bohmer, Evergreen faculty and activist, both of whom have recently been to Cuba. Food and music will also be offered.

The November 7 event welcoming the caravan in Olympia will take place at 3PM that Saturday at Sylvester Park. The caravan is still accepting additional drivers, vehicles (which aren't being permanently donated and would only be gone one month) and financial support. Interested individuals please call Lauren at 866-2842 or Rick at 527-1294. All are welcome, so come and support the Friendshipment!

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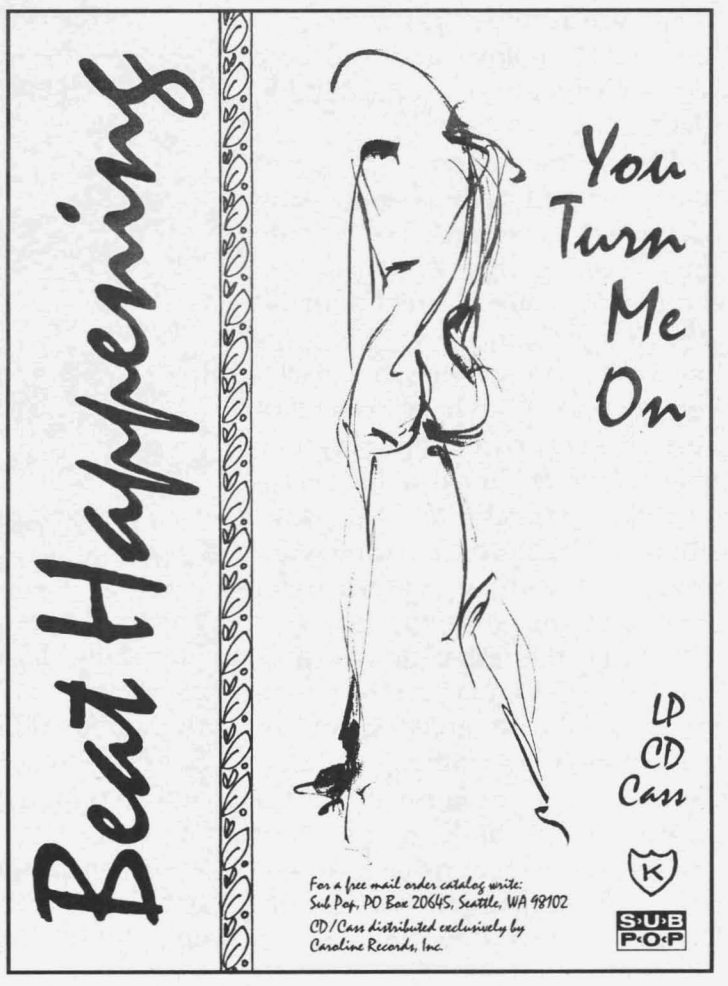


(Hill Rally, continued)

employers and employees is a good place to start dealing with this long-standing problem, but it's still too little, too late.

Our kids are barraged each day by false and harmful images of women. The media's education of our children starts early. Our sons see women portrayed as sexual objects to be enjoyed like glasses of cold beer. The most powerful woman our daughters are likely to see is Madonna, communicating that sex is power. On prime-time television every night, women are demeaned and joked about in ways that would not be tolerated by any other minority.

Let's stop giving our money to companies whose advertising insults and exploits women. And let them know why you won't do business with them.

Cut your cable - at least make a decision about what you want in your home - and let the cable companies know you don't approve of their message about women.

Talk to your kids. By the time they get to the workplace, it could be too late.

Bulldog News

V. Carhart

If you stop by Bulldog News on Fourth Ave in Olympia, the person who rings up your zines or makes your latte will probably be a man. If you come in later that day, or the next day, or even the day after that, you may notice that all the people who have been waiting on you are men. Why, at the time of this article, are there no women working at the Olympia Bulldog News? In the past week, an incident involving the owner of the three Bulldog News stores (Olympia, Seattle U. District, and Seattle Broadway) and a female employee resulted in the resignation of that employee and of all three women who worked at the Bulldog in Olympia.

I am pleased to now report that the owner of Bulldog News, Doug Campbell, has agreed to participate in a meeting that will include a trained mediator, current employees who are concerned about this incident, and any of the women who left because of it who choose to attend. It is very encouraging to know that the potential exists for everyone involved or affected by this situation to air their concerns and work towards a mutually agreed upon reconciliation.

Because the resignation of three women in Olympia and my choice to speak publicly about the incident has affected the ability of Bulldog News to function normally in this community, I think some further words about my decision to resign and speak may help to clear up any misconceptions. What follows is a close approximation of what I said at the rally, the text of a statement I prepared for *The Olympian*, and my closing remarks.

Speech

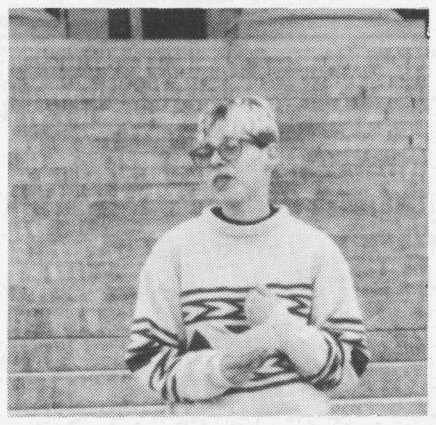
"Until recently, I was employed at Bulldog News in downtown Olympia. I am here to explain why

I no longer work there. On Sunday October 11, I came into the store for a short time to re-train an employee. After about an hour I was feeling pretty good about myself and my job; I had just gotten a promotion. As I was leaving, a co-worker stopped and told me some bad news - alarming, really. A woman we both knew who worked at the Seattle Bulldog in the U. District told my co-worker about a run-in she recently had had with the owner.

I was then told that my employer, the owner of Bulldog News, Olympia and Seattle, tried to prevent this woman from leaving a room in the U. District store during a heated argument.

That evening I called the woman in Seattle who had been involved in this incident. She told me how the owner was very angry with her, and how they both were arguing in a back room separated by a doorway from the public part of the store. She told me that she communicated to him that she did not want to talk with him while he was so upset.

I was then informed that the man



V. Carhart speaking at Capitol steps during Anita Hill March and Rally

I work for responded to this by physically blocking the doorway in an attempt to keep her from re-entering the public part of the store. She told him to get out of her way - and his response was 'I'm not touching you.'

Anytime an incident like this happens in the workplace, it involves a complicated set of circumstances particular to that environment. As you know, I do not have the time today to detail the situation at Bulldog. But I will tell you that I, along with the other two women who worked at the Olympia store, find nothing particularly complicated about a man in a position of power using his physical presence and his role to intimidate a female employee...and this is what I believed happened.

I'm sure the owner would tell you a slightly different story. I met with him recently, and I spoke with him for over an hour. I left, both this meeting and my job, sincerely convinced that he did not fully comprehend how very serious this situation is, and how it affected me and my female co-workers at his Olympia store.

I considered not telling you all today the name of the business involved in this situation. Although I resigned, I still felt uncomfortable about revealing this piece of information...and then I thought - who am I protecting? Not myself, I no longer work there - not my female co-workers - as of today there are no women working at Bulldog News in Olympia.

This is not something I feel happy about at all - but it is the decision we all felt compelled to make.

There are many ways to respond to a knowledge or suspicion of harassment. This march today is one way...and I think along with thinking about whom we vote for and whom we work for, we can also think about where we spend our money. Thank you."

Statement

The Clarence Thomas hearings of last year and other highly publicized lawsuits temporarily put the national spotlight on the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. This attention may have encouraged individuals to come forward with their stories, and encouraged men to re-examine their own behavior.

All of us here in Olympia - and I mean workers, managers, owners, and consumers alike, must recognize that harassment is a serious problem in our community as well as in our country. We all need to examine how our experiences as men and women give us power over others and make us subject to other people's power. I especially see an immediate need for men in positions of power to take responsibility for their own re-education, and then to act on what they learn. This is what I'm asking the owner of Bulldog News to do.

This needs to happen in regards to all kinds of intimidating and harassing behavior, whether or not lawsuits are filed or are eventually successful.

Remarks

After I spoke with the woman involved in the incident in Seattle - her name is Tanya - and with Doug, it was clear to me that I could no longer with a clear conscience continue to work for a man whom I was convinced acted in an aggressive, intimidating, and inappropriate manner towards a female employee.

My decision to speak at the rally after resigning was based on my conviction that while Doug confirmed the events as described to me by Tanya, he didn't perceive those events or the decision of four women to resign as having the same significance as did I. I still believe that the events of the last two weeks are very serious indeed and require serious attention. Again, I am encouraged that the opportunity now exists for dialogue.

. . . the owner of Bulldog News, Doug Campbell, has agreed to participate in a meeting that will include a trained mediator, current employees who are concerned about this incident, and any of the women who left because of it who choose to attend.

WIP Schedule

WIP Article submission deadline is Wednesday November 18
Also on that day, there will be a meeting at SPEECH at 7 pm. Speech is 218 Fourth Ave. Call 705-2726 for info.

Proofreading Meeting Tuesday, November 23
at 7 pm At the Olympia Timberland Library

Policy Meeting
Wednesday Nov 4 and Tuesday Dec 1 @ 7 pm Call 357-4705 for place.